

MARSYAS



VOLUME III . . . M D C C C C X L V . . .



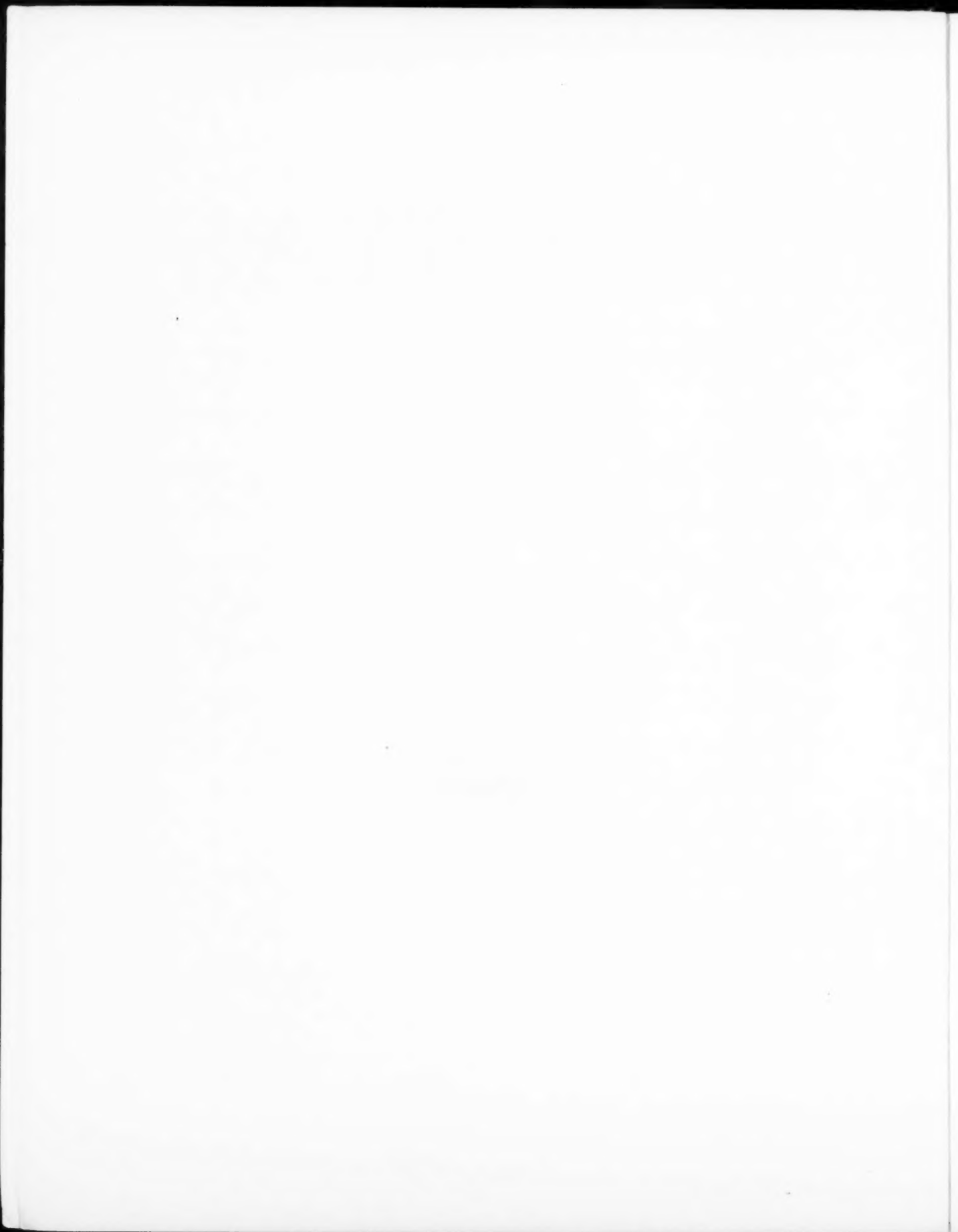
MARSYAS

A PUBLICATION BY THE STUDENTS OF THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY



VOLUME III 1943-1945

NEW YORK 1946



The 1943-45 volume of MARSYAS

is dedicated

to

Walter Friedlaender

born in 1873

Professor Emeritus since 1943

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The editors would again like to express their gratitude to the Faculty of the Institute and its Chairman, Walter W. S. Cook, for their invaluable assistance, and to Doris Duke Cromwell for her continued interest in the publication of MARSYAS.

CONTENTS

A "MYRONIC" STATUE OF AN ATHLETE RECONSIDERED	MARIE LOUISE MENSCH	1
A NEW DEVOTIONAL PANEL TYPE IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY ITALY	EDWARD B. GARRISON JR.	15
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL IN FLORENTINE PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE	GERTRUDE M. ACHENBACH	71
ANTIQUE FRAMEWORKS FOR RENAISSANCE ART THEORY: ALBERT AND PINO	CREIGHTON E. GILBERT	87
"THE INGENIOUS BELLORI" - A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY	KENNETH DONAHUE	107
CUBIST-REALISM: AN AMERICAN STYLE	MILTON W. BROWN	139
THESIS SUMMARIES 1942-1945		161

EDITORS

1942-45

Phyllis Pray Bober

Clotilda A. Brokaw

Kenneth E. Foster

Creighton Gilbert

Diether Thimme

1942-43

Ellen W. Cramer

Esther M. Gordon

Phyllis L. Williams

1943-44

Gertrude M. Achenbach

Edward B. Garrison Jr.

Martha Leeb

1944-45

E. Maurice Bloch

Edward B. Garrison Jr.

Martha Leeb

A "MYRONIC" STATUE OF AN ATHLETE RECONSIDERED*

by

Marie Louise Mensch

The reconstruction of the Greek fifth century statue which will be discussed in this article was completed by Walther Amelung before his death, and was published by Margarete Bieber in 1927 under the title, "Wiederherstellung einer myronischen Athletenstatue durch Walther Amelung"¹. Amelung arrived at his reconstruction (figs. 1, 2) by comparing and combining several torsos which he recognized as Roman replicas of the same Greek original²; and by adding to the resulting torso a head preserved in two replicas, which are in the Stockholm Museum (fig. 3) and the Capitoline Museum in Rome (fig. 4)³. Chiefly because it wears a head-dress of straps, he concluded that the reconstructed statue represents an athlete⁴. Without offering specific reasons for his opinion, he designated it Myronic -- an attribution which has remained unquestioned until the present. It is my intention in this article to reconsider Amelung's Myronic attribution of this work. In doing so, I shall first compare the statue, which is to be called the *Amelung Athlete*, with those works which form the basis of our conception of Myron's style: the *Discobolos*, the *Marsyas* and the *Athena*. Then by comparing it with another group of works, I shall attempt to show that the statue should be assigned to a quite different school of art.

The impression created by the *Amelung Athlete* is quite different from that of the *Discobolos*⁵. Both figures are engaged in physical action, but the gesture of the *Amelung Athlete* conveys the idea of repose, its arms appearing to be in a stable position, while the action of the *Discobolos* is violent, the figure being portrayed in one fleeting phase of a continuous movement. The two statues differ equally in details. Thus, if we follow the design of the breast muscles of the *Amelung Athlete*, we see that it is rectangular in shape; also, the modeling is comparatively flat, and the dividing line in the center of the breast is hardly visible. The ribs form straight lines and are not very strongly modeled. In the *Discobolos*, on the other hand, the breast muscle is round in shape and extends further down; it is more plastically modeled, as are the ribs and the line down the center of the torso. The right shoulder of

this statue is sharply isolated and the arm is jerked back, tense muscles being visible in both shoulder and arm. The right arm of the *Amelung Athlete* is raised too, but in this case we see no muscular tension reflected in the shoulder: the modeling is gradual, and individual muscles cannot be seen. This is true of the thighs as well: while we can clearly discern the muscles of the thigh of the *Discobolos*, that of the *Amelung Athlete* is modeled evenly and roundly. The body of the *Amelung Athlete*, then, is heavier and less active and wiry than that of the *Discobolos*.

These differences in treatment might conceivably be explained as products of the differing poses of the two figures, rather than as evidence that the statues represent separate stylistic trends. A comparison of the *Amelung Athlete* with the *Narsyas*⁶, however, furnishes proof that the latter is the case. The erect standing pose of the *Narsyas* necessitates violence of movement and muscular tension far less than does the active pose of the *Discobolos*. Nevertheless, the *Narsyas* exhibits almost the same type of sudden movement and tension of muscles as does the other Myronic work, and in these respects offers a similarly strong contrast to the *Amelung Athlete*. Again, the shape of the breast muscle is narrower and the pelvis is less angular in contour. Like that of the *Discobolos*, the body of the *Narsyas* is slimmer and harder than the body of the *Amelung Athlete*.

A comparison of the head of the *Amelung Athlete* with that of the *Discobolos*⁷ reveals in the former the same heavier proportions and less decisive modeling that characterize the body. It has broader cheeks, a higher forehead and a softer, less distinctly modeled mouth. The eyes are irregular in design and the lines of the eyebrows are less precise. The bridge of the nose is thicker. The hair is more loosely delineated, its locks being less finely chiseled and less systematically arranged. The outline of the hair is irregular; in contrast, the hair of the *Discobolos* is fitted on the head almost like a helmet.

Since the head of the statue of *Narsyas*⁸ is not human, and since its features are distorted by passion, it is less suitable for comparison with the head of the *Amelung Athlete* than is that of the *Athena*⁹ belonging to the same group. The latter, like the head of the *Discobolos*, is more precisely constructed than that of the *Amelung Athlete*, and its features are more distinctly modeled. The locks of its hair have almost the regularity and the structural quality of an architectural ornament; by comparison, the hair of the *Amelung Athlete* seems remarkably casually arranged, even untidy.

The foregoing comparisons suggest not only that the *Amelung Athlete* cannot be the work of the master of the *Discobolos*, the *Narsyas* and the *Athena*, but also that the Myronic statues belong to an utterly different stylistic trend. Myron's works are those of a master aware of the nature of the bone structure and musculature of the human body. In constructing his figures he employs this knowledge consciously and logically. Every movement is organically developed, and every shape is precisely planned and organized according to a clearly preconceived vision of the whole structure. The master of the *Amelung Athlete*, on the contrary, seems to consider his statue from the point of view of surface effects, conceiving it in a pictorial manner. The movements of his figure do not have the clarity and decisiveness of those of the Myronic figures. Less logically and architecturally conceived, the *Amelung Athlete* gives a static and dreamy impression which contrasts decidedly with the alertness and vigor of the Myronic figures. To state the contrast categorically, the master of the *Amelung Athlete* expressed a mood, while Myron renders an action.

We must conclude, therefore, that the *Amelung Athlete* can neither be the work of Myron nor belong to his artistic milieu. In attempting to attribute the statue elsewhere, it will be helpful to consider one work which, although distant from it in date, seems close to it in certain basic features: the so-called *Pollux* in the Louvre.¹⁰ For the purposes of this discussion, it will be convenient to refer to a cast of the *Pollux* (fig. 5), in which distorting restorations are omitted. The *Pollux* and

the *Amelung Athlete* exhibit the same physical proportions, the bodies being rather broad in comparison to their length. In both, the shoulders are broad, the thighs heavy, and the pectorals square in design. The shape of the pelvis is almost identical in each case. Finally, the figures are similar in movement: both are bent to one side, causing a dislocation of the hips, and in each case this movement presents the body in one plane, conveying an impression of frontality.

The similarity between the *Amelung Athlete* and the *Pollux* is striking enough to suggest that an investigation of the works related to the latter may prove fruitful for our attempt to determine the school of art to which the *Amelung Athlete* should be attributed. The *Pollux* has been associated with a number of statues, which in turn have been connected with each other. These are the *Discobolos Ludovisi* in the Terme Museum in Rome (fig. 6);¹ the *Protesilaos* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (figs. 7-10);² and the statue of a *Warrior* in the Somzée Collection in Brussels (figs. 11, 12).³ Each of these works has been attributed to the sculptor Pythagoras, or to his artistic milieu;⁴ and thus to the South Italian school. The Pythagorean attribution is not of special interest here; what does concern us is the fact that common features have already been noted in this group of works, and that they therefore can be considered as representatives of a coherent stylistic trend. As such, they may constitute the stylistic milieu within which the *Amelung Athlete* is to be placed, providing that the relationship between it and the *Pollux*, which was pointed out above, remains consistent in each instance. The following comparisons between the *Amelung Athlete* and the remaining members of this group will serve to test this hypothesis.

In the *Discobolos Ludovisi* (fig. 6), we find again the heavy proportions, the broad shoulders, the square design of the breast muscles and pelvis, and the frontal position of the body noted in the *Amelung Athlete*. The more rigid pose and the harder modeling of the *Discobolos Ludovisi* might indicate that it is earlier in date than the other statue, that is, ca. 460 B.C.⁵ It can be regarded as the earliest statue of the

group. Although the *Pollux* (fig. 5) retains a certain stiffness of pose, it is more developed in modeling, and therefore may be somewhat later. It would be followed chronologically by the *Protesilaos*, for which I accept Gisela M.A. Richter's date of ca. 450-45 B.C.¹⁶

The stylistic connection between the *Protesilaos* (figs. 7-10) and the *Pollux* (fig. 5) has been shown very convincingly by Oskar F. Waldhauer, and it seems unnecessary to repeat his arguments here.¹⁷ The *Amelung Athlete* and the *Protesilaos*, being both related to the *Pollux*, should also show mutual connections.

Comparing the *Amelung Athlete* with the *Protesilaos*, we find that their torsos share the frontal position, with shoulders in one plane. Similar, too, are the positions of the arms, one being raised and the other lowered; the upper right arms, furthermore, are raised at the same angle. The shapes of the right shoulders and armpits are strikingly alike, as are the angular right elbows. The back views (figs. 2, 8) show these interrelations very clearly, and here equal similarities can be pointed out if the left arms are compared. The torsos exhibit the same proportions, each having broad shoulders and waist-line, and a square pelvis. The modeling of both statues is comparatively shallow, that of the *Amelung Athlete* being somewhat the more pronounced. Comparison of the heads (figs. 3, 4, 9) brings out further similarities. The broad planes of the cheeks, the almost pouting shape of the mouth and the rounded curve of the chin should be noted in each case. The closeness of the relationship becomes especially apparent when the heads are seen in profile (figs. 3, 4, 10), a view which reveals, too, the similarity of the formation of the curls at the temples. The triangular shapes which they form are almost identical, and in both the single curls are loosely modeled. The row of curls showing under the helmet at the back of the head of the *Protesilaos* finds a counterpart in the lowest row of curls on the neck of the *Amelung Athlete*. Finally, the brooding expressions of the faces are not unlike.

These similarities constitute evidence of a definite stylistic connection between the two works just discussed. Such differences as exist between them probably indicate a difference in date, rather than in school. The greater ease of movement and more continuous modeling of the *Amelung Athlete* suggest that it is later than the *Protesilaos*. On this basis, I should date the *Amelung Athlete* ca. 440 B.C., at the earliest.

The statue of a *Warrior* in the Somzée Collection in Brussels (*fig. 11*) shares with the *Amelung Athlete* almost all the characteristics observed in the course of our discussion: the broadness of shoulder, the square shape of the breast, the angularity of the pelvis, and the rounded shape of the thigh are among these. Judging from the positions of its torso and legs, the stance of the *Amelung Athlete* must have been very similar to that of the *Warrior*, too. In the heads (*figs. 3, 4, 12*), we find a comparable softness in the mouths and uneven outline of the eyes, as well as the same loose curls at the temples. Restoration makes the nose of the *Warrior* unsuitable for comparison.

The head of the Somzée *Warrior* (*fig. 12*) is even more closely related to that of the *Protesilaos* (*figs. 9, 10*), especially in the manner in which the hair escapes from beneath the helmet at the temples. For the rest of this statue, a comparison with the *Protesilaos* would amount more or less to a repetition of what has been said in comparing it with the *Amelung Athlete*. The Somzée *Warrior* seems to be slightly earlier than the latter, and not far removed in date from the *Protesilaos*.

Although problems of dating have not been its primary concern, the foregoing discussion has tentatively established the following relative chronology for the works mentioned: *Discobolos Ludovisi*, *Pollux*, *Protesilaos*, *Somzée Warrior*, *Amelung Athlete*.

We have already mentioned the fact that for all these statues, with the exception of the *Amelung Athlete*, some connection with Pythagoras, i.e. with the South Italian school, has previously been suggested. An

even more precise localization of the school of art to which these works belong is suggested by the observation of Langlotz and others that the *Discobolos Ludovisi* and the *Pollux* are related to a work of certain South Italian origin, a torso cast from a terracotta mould found at Taranto.¹⁸ A comparison of this torso (fig. 13) with the *Pollux* (fig. 5) shows that they have in common the broad breast, the incision at the waist-line and the design of the pelvis. The torso from Taranto gives a more static impression, but on the other hand the modeling is less abrupt, and hence the torso may be slightly later than the *Pollux*, but earlier than the *Amelung Athlete*. The latter shares the following features with the torso from Taranto and the *Pollux*: the design of the muscles of the abdomen, with an incision at the waist which, although not as deep as those of the other figures, is still visible, the shape of the pelvis, the broad breast, and the frontal pose. The slightly later date of the *Amelung Athlete* is apparent from the greater ease of the posture and the more fluid modeling.

Another torso cast from a terracotta mould found at Taranto, which is in the Museum at Geneva,¹⁹ furnishes further proof of the connection of the *Amelung Athlete* with Tarantine art. This torso (fig. 14), although perhaps a little later in date than the *Amelung Athlete*, exhibits the same heavy proportions and division of the breast and abdomen into several planes, each strongly outlined. The waist-line, too, is indicated in a similar manner, and the shape of the pelvis is almost identical. The pose of the torso in Geneva is more active than that of the *Amelung Athlete*; however, a movement similar in kind, if less violent, is suggested by the slight action of the latter: the same outward curve of the right hip and inward curve of the left one are found in both, and the slight torsion of the body of the *Amelung Athlete* is merely heightened in the torso in Geneva. But in spite of its active pose, the torso retains something of the frontality noted in the earlier statues of the group.

Finally, it is possible to confirm this relationship to Tarantine art by comparing the head of the *Amelung Athlete* with certain heads

found at Taranto. One of these, a marble head of Athena in the Museum at Taranto (*figs. 15, 16*), is probably about contemporary with the *Amelung Athlete*.²⁰ The stylistic connection is evident: the broad planes of the cheeks, the oval chin, the soft, loosely designed mouth, the wide-open eyes of uncertain shape, the broad nose and the heavy curls at the temple are all comparable to the corresponding features of the head of the *Amelung Athlete*. And again we find the triangle of curls escaping from beneath the helmet at the temple which was noticed in the *Protesilaos* and the *Somzée Warrior*.

The same characteristics can be observed in some of the terracotta heads that have been found in large numbers at Taranto. A good example is the head of a youth in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (*fig. 17*).²¹ which is apparently somewhat later in date than the *Amelung Athlete*. Here the execution is rather crude, so that the careless arrangement of the hair and the irregularity of the features are exaggerated. But we find again the characteristic shape of the eye, and, in the profile view, the pouting mouth and the untidy curl at the temple, features common to the group of works we have discussed.

As a result of the comparisons undertaken in this article, evidence has been furnished which confirms the correctness of Amelung's reconstruction of the *Athlete*. These comparisons show that the head and body of this statue belong to the same style, this being indicated especially by the connections with various examples of Tarantine sculpture, and with the *Protesilaos* and the *Somzée Warrior*, which are preserved intact. We have also seen that the movements of the *Athlete*, as reconstructed by Amelung, are appropriate to this style.

I hope to have refuted Amelung's further conclusion that the *Athlete* is Myronic by showing that it is instead related on the one hand to a group of statues previously attributed to Pythagoras or his milieu, i.e. to a South Italian school of art, and on the other hand to a number of works of certain South Italian or, more precisely, Tarantine origin.

Correlating this evidence, I would like to suggest Taranto as the place of origin not only of the *Amelung Athlete* but also of the entire group of related statues which I have discussed.²²

NOTES

- * This article was prepared under the direction of Professor Karl Lehmann of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, to whom I am indebted for general guidance and many helpful suggestions.
1. Margarete Bieber, "Wiederherstellung einer myronischen Athletenstatue durch Walther Amelung," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLII, 1927, pp. 152-57.
 2. The following torsos, listed *ibid.*, pp. 153-157, were used in the reconstruction:
 1. Torso in the Torlonia Museum, Rome (*ibid.*, pls. 6, 7, 8).
 2. " " " Villa Doria-Pamphili, Rome (*ibid.*, p. 154, fig. 1).
 3. " " " Braccio Nuovo, Vatican Museum, Rome (Walther Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1903, I, pl. 19).
 4. Torso in the Garden of the Archaeological Museum, Florence (Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 155, fig. 2).
 5. Torso in the Museum at Seville (*ibid.*, p. 158, fig. 4).
 3. The head exists in two replicas: one in the National Museum in Stockholm (*ibid.*, Beilage 24, fig. 1; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Munich, 1912, *Text und Register zu den Tafeln*, 501-600, no. 527, figs. 7, 8, 9); the other in the Stanza Terrena a Destra, I (no. 8), Capitoline Museum, Rome (Bieber, *op. cit.*, Beilage 24, fig. 2; Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, no. 527, fig. 6 and pl. 527). Elements from both heads were used in the reconstruction.
 4. No other figure wearing this kind of headdress seems to be known, although some athlete statues wear a cap tied under the chin. Of this sort there are the caps worn by the wrestler, discus-thrower and runner on a fifth century kylix in the Munich Glyptothek (no. 795) W. Klein, "Über zwei Vasen der Münchener Sammlung," *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXVI, 1878, pl. XI). The headdress most similar to that of our statue is to be found on a statuette of an athlete in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which is of later date (Gisela M.A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930, p. 287, fig. 188; Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, 501-550, no. 527, figs. 1, 2, 3). This consists of one strap which is placed around the head with a loop over each ear, and is tied under the chin. As this statuette has swollen ears, it is considered to be a boxer. But, as we have seen similar types of headdresses were worn by other types of athletes as well, and, as our statue apparently does not have swollen ears, there is no reason why it must necessarily represent a boxer. Apparently there is no way of determining what kind of an athlete it represents.

5. For reproduction, see Gisela M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven, 1930, figs. 578, 581.
6. *Ibid.*, fig. 584; Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, 631-632, figs. 5-7, 11-13.
7. For reproduction, see Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, *op. cit.*, fig. 582.
8. *Ibid.*, fig. 585.
9. *Ibid.*, figs. 589, 590.
10. For reproduction, see Henri Lechat, "Pythagoras de Rhegion," *Annales de l'Université de Lyons*, n. s., II (*Droit. Lettres - Fascicule 14*), 1905, fig 15; *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques*, Paris, Louvre, 1922, no. 889, pl. XXXIX; Ernst Langlotz, "Epimetheus," *Die Antike*, VI, 1930, pl. 66; Ludwig Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst*, Potsdam, II (pt. 1), 1938, p. 254, fig. 433; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* (Sculpture grecque au Musée du Louvre), 25, no. 5, III, March 15, 1938, p. 157, fig. A.
 Adolf Furtwängler (*Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, ed. Eugenie Sellers, New York, 1895, p. 172) believed that the head belonged to the statue. Lechat (*op. cit.*, p. 104, note 2) states that he is not certain whether the head belongs to the statue or not, but that there are restorations all around the neck. More recently it has become generally accepted that the head does not belong to the statue (see Margarete Bleber, "Pythagoras," *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Thieme-Becker, Leipzig, 1933, XXVII, p. 483). Curtius (*op. cit.*, fig. 433) uses a cast which is not restored (omitting, therefore, the arms, parts of the legs, and the head); thus he must be of the opinion that the head does not belong to the statue.
11. See Ernst Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nürnberg, 1927, p. 148, and "Epimetheus," *op. cit.*, p. 13.
12. See Gisela M.A. Richter, "A Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I, 1929, pp. 187-200, and "A Statue of Protesilaos," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 26-29; Oskar F. Waldhauer, "On the Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV, 1933, pp. 198-203; Ludwig Curtius, "Heros Kyzikos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XLIX, 1934, pp. 304-316.
13. See Adolf Furtwängler, *Collection Sarmées*, Munich, 1897, pp. 3-5, pls. III-V. The statue comes from the garden of the Villa Ludovisi. The following parts are restored: both arms, the left leg (from above the knee), the right knee, the right foot, the plinth, the nose, part of the neck (*Ibid.*, p. 3). See also Oskar F. Waldhauer, *Pythagoras of Rhegium* (in Russian), Petrograd, 1913, pp. 85-91, figs. 23, 24; Walther Amelung, "Der Meister des Apollon auf dem

Omphalos und seine Schule," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts*, XLI, 1926, p. 248, fig. 2.

14. The following authors attribute the *Pollux* to Pythagoras, or consider it to be close to his style: Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, op. cit., p. 172, and *Intermezzi*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1898, p. 11; Lechat, op. cit., pp. 104 ff.; Curtius in Brunn-Bruckmann, op. cit., 801-850, p. 19; Waldhauer, *Pythagoras of Rhegium*, op. cit., pp. 109-123; Langlotz, "Epimetheus," op. cit., p. 14 (also mentions connection between the *Pollux* and the *Discobolos Ludovisi*); Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst*, op. cit., p. 253.

The following attribute the *Discobolos Ludovisi* to Pythagoras: Curtius in Brunn-Bruckmann, op. cit., p. 20; Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, op. cit., pp. 1150 ff.; and "Epimetheus," op. cit., p. 13.

The following attribute the *Warrior* in the Somzee Collection to Pythagoras: Furtwängler, *Collection Somzee*, op. cit., finds that the statue is related to the *Pollux*, which he attributes to Pythagoras (*ibid.*, p. 4), and attributes it to an Attic-Ionic artist of the first half of the fifth century, close to Calamis and Pythagoras (*ibid.*, p. 5); Waldhauer, *Pythagoras of Rhegium*, op. cit., 85-123. Amelung, "Der Meister des Apollon auf dem Omphalos und seine Schule," op. cit., p. 248, connects the statue with the Apollo Chioseul-Gouffier in London (*ibid.*, p. 248, fig. 1).

15. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, op. cit., p. 148, dates the *Discobolos Ludovisi* between the *Youth* from Aderno in the Syracuse Museum (*ibid.*, pls. 89, 90), which he considers to be contemporary with the Olympia sculptures, and the small bronze *Adorans* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (no. 79, *ibid.*, pl. 93 b), which he dates two decades earlier than the *Youth* from Aderno.
16. The following dates have been proposed for the *Protesilaos*: Richter, "A Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum," op. cit., p. 197: 440-445 B.C.; Waldhauer, "On the Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," op. cit., p. 203: about 460 B.C.; Curtius, "Heros Kyeikos," op. cit., p. 316: "Thirty years later than Waldhauer's date of 460."

Ionic connections have been noted for the *Protesilaos* by the following authors: Ferdinand Noack, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, XLIV, 1929, p. 182, refers to the drapery as North-Ionic; Ernst Buschor, "Malandros", *Philologus*, LXXXVI, 1931, p. 428, calls it an Ionic statue of the middle of the fifth century.

17. See Waldhauer, op. cit., p. 200.
18. For reproduction, see Langlotz, "Epimetheus", op. cit., pl. 6. The torso is a modern cast from a terracotta mould found at Taranto. Langlotz (p. 6) is of the opinion that it has the

same type of body as the *Pollux*, and that this relation to a work from South Italy is further evidence for the attribution to Pythagoras. Heinrich Bulle, "Zwei griechische Bronzen," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, LV, 1930, p. 190, considers the Taranto torso to be a later version ("Nachklang") of the type of the *Pollux* and the *Discobolos Ludovisi*. Bieber, "Pythagoras," *op. cit.*, p. 483, finds similarity in the modeling of the muscles in the Taranto torso and the *Pollux*, and mentions the fact that Pythagoras is said to have worked for the city of Taranto.

There is some evidence for a connection between the *Protesilaos* and Tarantine art: there is a replica of the *Protesilaos* in the British Museum, London, which was found in Kyzikos (Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 195, figs. 8, 9). Bruno Schröder, "Mikon und Paionios," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XXIX, 1914, p. 157, attempts to prove the connection of North Ionic art, especially that of Kyzikos, to a rhyton from Taranto. Relations of the rhyton from Taranto to Ionic art of Asia Minor had been previously noted by Franz Winter, "Silbernes Trinkhorn aus Tarent in Triest," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, V, 1902, p. 125, pl. I, and *ibid.*, VI, 1903, *Beiblatt*, p. 61, who also shows the relationship of the rhyton to Tarantine terracottas.

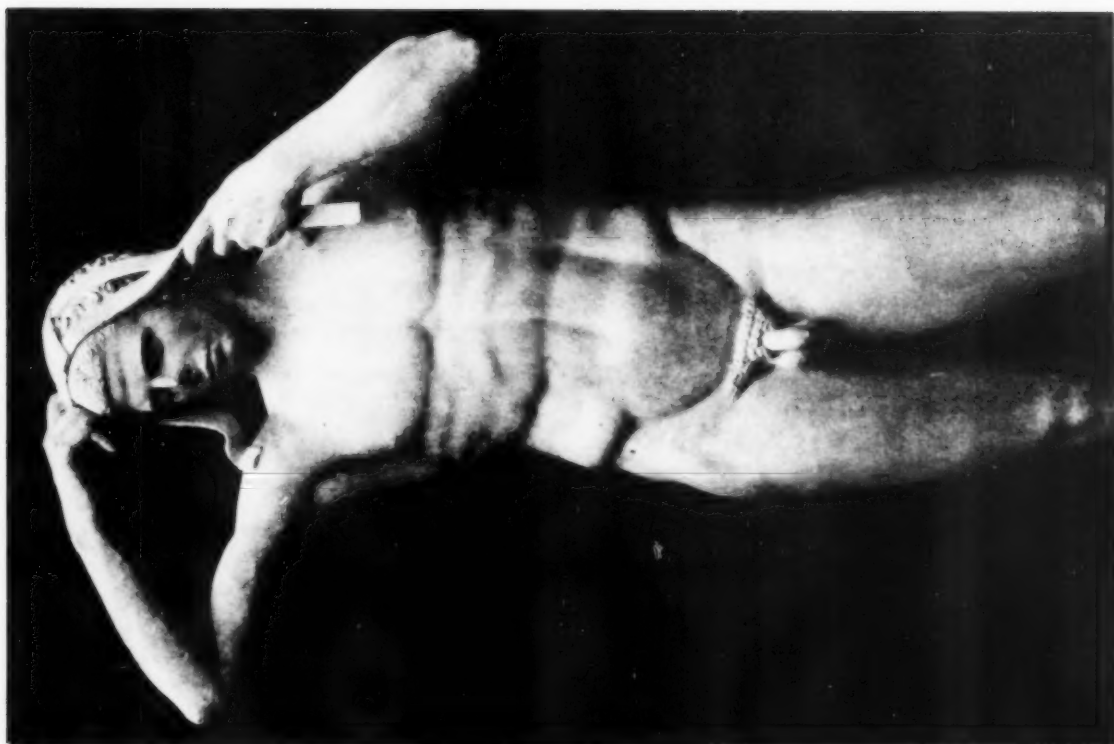
Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 316, agrees with Schröder's conception of the artistic milieu of the statue from Kyzikos, but states that he disagrees with Waldhauer's suggestion that the *Protesilaos* is connected with Pythagoras.

19. Torso of an *Athlete*, Museum of Art and History, Geneva (no. 12522; height, 0.19 m.) (Walde-mar Deonna, "Moules Tarantins," *Monuments et Mémoires, L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris (Fondation Eugene Piot), XXX, 1929, p. 52, pl. V, 2; Pierre Wullemmier, *Far-ante des origines à la conquête romaine*, Paris, 1939, p. 406, pl. XXXI, 6).
 20. Taranto Museum (no. 3899; height, 0.32 m.) (Wullemmier, *op. cit.*, p. 279, pl. IV, 1; E. Petersen, "Verschiedenes aus Süditalien," *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XII, 1897, p. 128, no. 10).
- Waldhauer, *op. cit.*, p. 203, refers to the head of the *Protesilaos* as that of a warrior, and states that a "connection with Southern Italy is established also by the finding at Taranto of the nearest analogy to the head of the *Protesilaos*—or rather its direct antecedent — a marble head...." He dates the head "about 475." Bernard Ashmole, *Late Archaic and Early Classical Sculpture in Sicily and Southern Italy*, London, 1934, p. 15, note 4, dates it "possibly a little after the mid fifth century."
21. For reproduction, see Lacey D. Caskey, "Greek Terracottas from Tarentum," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXIX, 1931, p. 18, fig. 2.

The following are also good for comparison: *Head of a Youth*, Geneva Museum (Wuilleumier, *op. cit.* pl. XXXI, 2); terracotta *Head of a Youth* (*ibid.*, pl. XXX, 2). A further comparison, which is not quite as close, is a terracotta *Head of Apollo* (Heinrich Bulle, *Tarentiner Apollonkopf* (*Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 99), Berlin, 1939, pp. 3-19, figs. 1-8. All these heads were found at Taranto.

22. Unfortunately, relatively few of the works found at Taranto have been published so far. When more have been, it is to be hoped that the Tarantine school, of which the *Amelung Athlete* appears to be a product, can be more fully investigated and documented by examples.

The most recent publications containing information on Tarantine sculpture are the following: U. Jantzen, "Bronzwerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft*, XIII, 1937; Hans Klumbach, *Tarentiner Grabkunst*, Reutlingen, 1937. Wuilleumier, *op. cit.*, is a very thorough study on all aspects of Taranto, and contains an extensive bibliography for earlier publications on Tarantine art.



Figs. 1 and 2. Athlete, reconstructed by Amelung (from a cast.)

PLATE II



Figs. 3 and 4. Heads of Athlete, Stockholm Museum (above),
and Rome, Capitoline Museum (below).

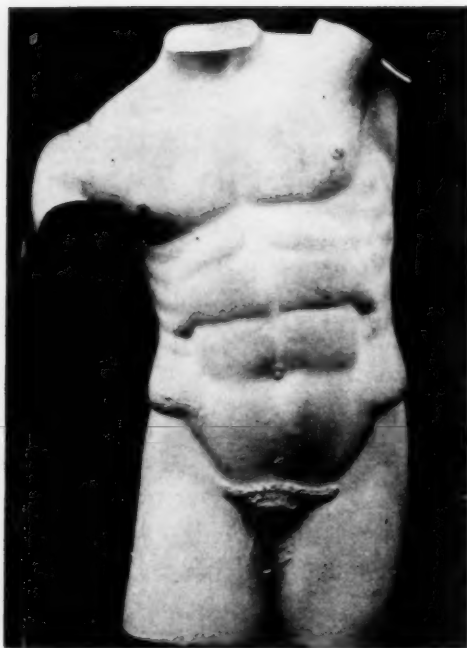
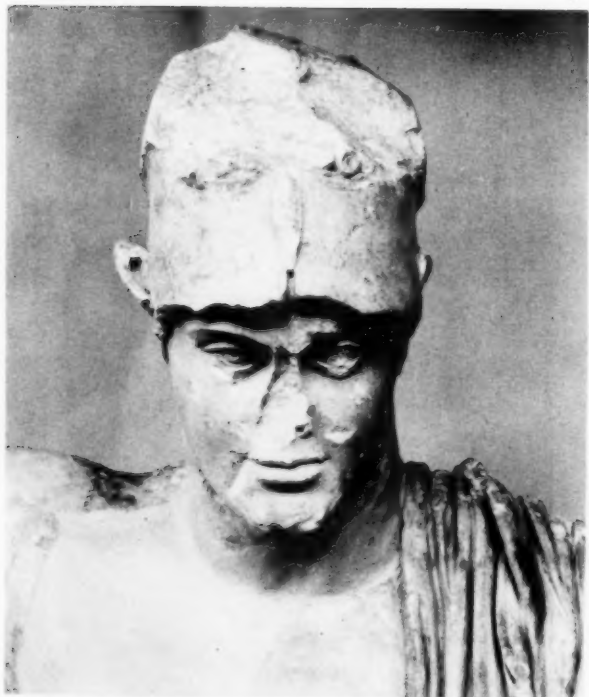


Fig. 5. Pollux, Louvre, Paris,
(cast omitting restorations)

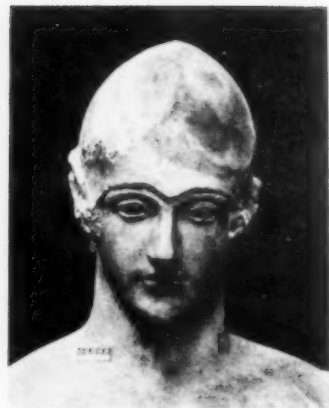


Fig. 6. Discobolos Ludovisi,
Rome, Museo delle Terme.



Figs. 7-10. Protesilaos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

courtesy of the museum



Figs. 11 and 12. Warrior, Somzee Collection, Brussels



Fig. 13. Cast from ancient mould found at Taranto. Location unknown.

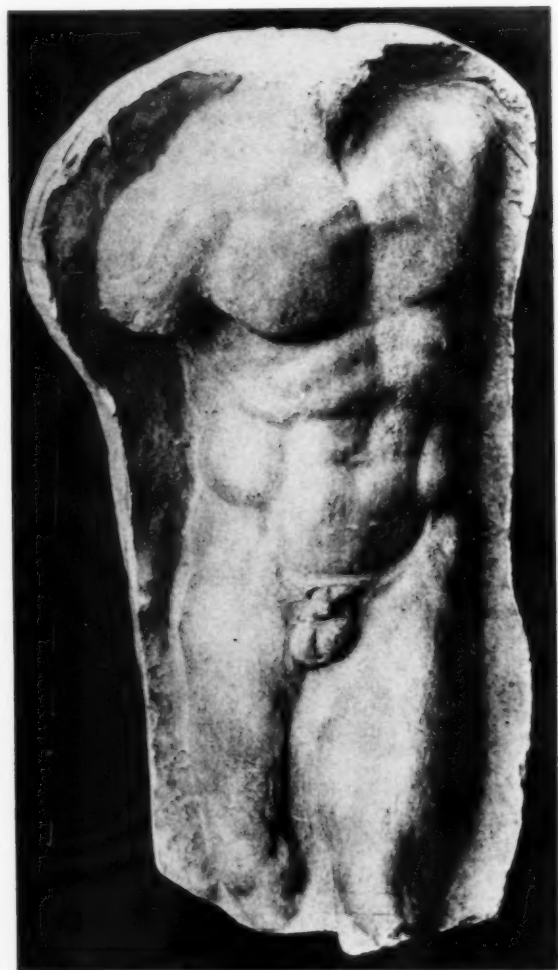


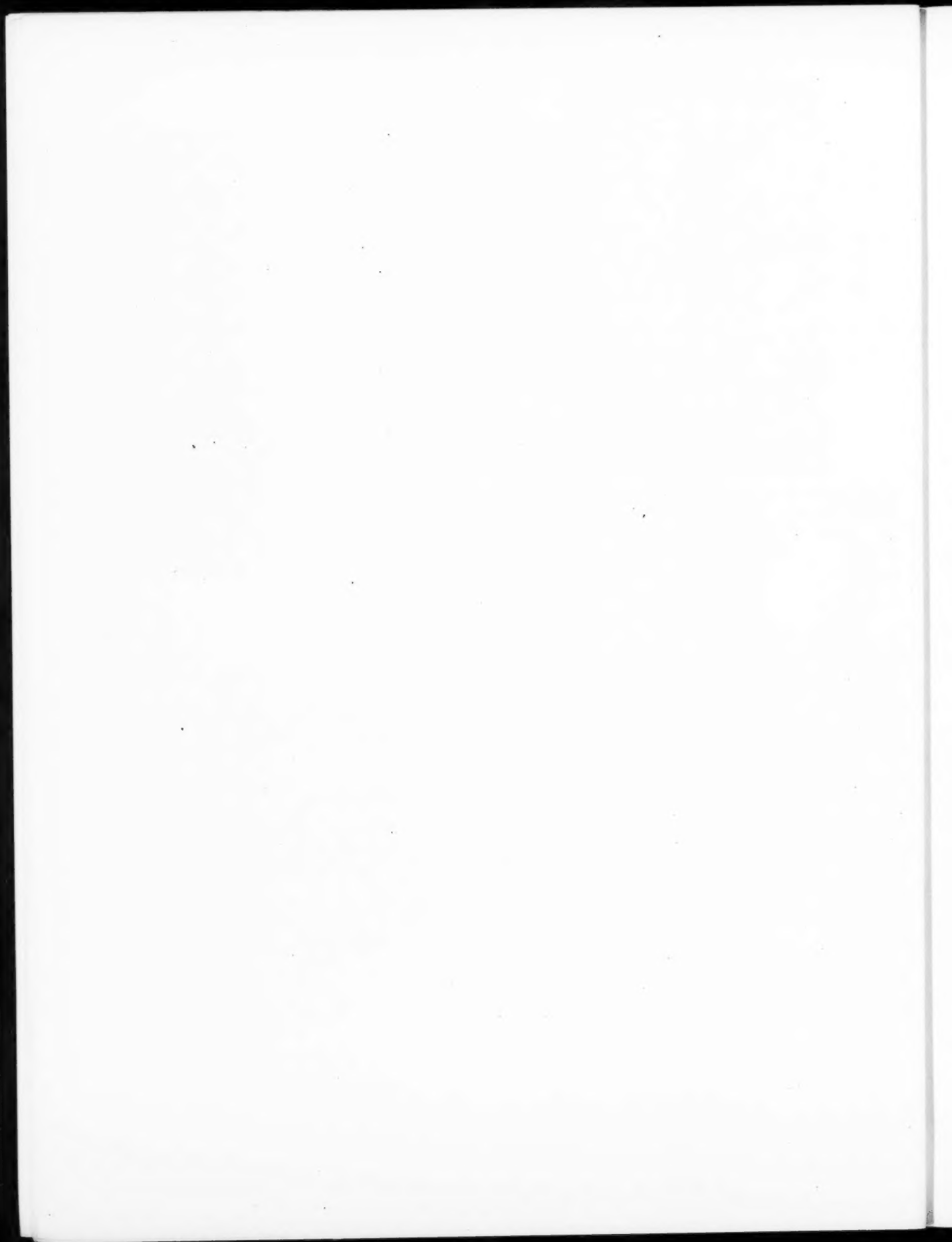
Fig. 14. Cast from ancient mould found at Taranto. Geneva, Museum.



Figs. 15 and 16. Athena, marble head from Taranto.
Taranto, Museum.



Fig. 17. Youth, terracotta head from Taranto.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



A NEW DEVOTIONAL PANEL TYPE IN
FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

by

Edward B. Garrison Jr.

A small Sienese panel in Christ Church Library, Oxford, arouses special interest by reason of its unique shape and iconography (*fig. 1*).¹ In a central compartment the Madonna and Child are seated upon a throne, accompanied by six angels. A small female figure kneels at their feet, and the Child leans slightly forward to bless her. A tall, narrow compartment at the left contains a Crucifixion, a similar compartment at the right a Stigmatization of St. Francis. The central compartment is rectangular, while the flanking compartments have their upper contours in outwardly descending curves. Over the Madonna's head is an arched molding, and in the spandrels between it and the outer frame are some crowded, half-obliterated figures.

The work is Ducciesque and was probably executed shortly after 1300.² Its height is a little over fourteen inches, its overall width about eighteen (0,367 x 0,443 cms.), and it thus manifestly belongs to a class of portable panels that were ordered or bought to serve in private devotions.³ Such panels were owned by laity, clergy and religious alike and were set up or hung in homes, monastery cells and other appropriate places. They might also be carried upon voyages, when they would often be exposed to greater than ordinary wear. Although some were merely single panels, there is evidence in their proportionate survival that diptychs and tabernacles were preferred for the protection they afforded the paintings.⁴ It is hardly necessary to recall that diptych leaves were fastened face to face, while tabernacle shutters closed over the central panels, and that the principal paintings were on the interior surfaces. The Oxford panel was obviously a tabernacle, for the Crucifixion and Stigmatization are hinged to the central rectangle and may be folded over it.

But when other tabernacles are closed, the central panel is completely covered, since each of the shutters is equivalent to a vertical half of it, corresponding in contour either to its contour or, if there is an arch within this, as in Oxford, at times to the contour of the area below the arch. In the latter event, the spandrels, usually left undecorated, project forward of the surface of the panel and the shutters fit under them. In Oxford, however, the shutters, with their concave upper edges, are not related in either way to the central panel, and they would not, when closed, cover the icon completely (*fig. 2*). This divergence from all other Italian tabernacles is in itself surprising, and although the fact that it is the heads of the Madonna and Child which are left neatly visible may be taken as an indication that the shutters were given their special shape so that, without going to the trouble of unfastening them, the pious owner might yet address occasional prayers to the icon, it is unlikely that so important a portion of the painting would be left thus unprotected at all times against possible damage. It would seem, therefore, that in its present state the tabernacle must be incomplete.

That this is so is further evident in the spandrel figures. Close examination reveals them to be the dead arising from their tombs: on the left the Blessed are being led upward by a rewarding angel, while on the right a castigating angel drives the Damned downward. They are, of course, elements in a Last Judgment, and their depiction without proper context would be both unexampled and extremely unlikely. Their presence may, therefore, be taken to indicate that the central figure of the scene, Christ the Judge, was originally present as well. He would normally be placed higher than they, and it is thus probable that some sort of crest-like part or apex is missing, in which he would have occupied his accustomed position. And because trumpeting angels are indispensable complements of the rising dead, it is likely that they appeared at either side of Christ.⁵

Conclusive evidence for the existence of such an apex is furnished by the two hinge marks which are plainly visible in the upper frame of the central panel. They are proved original by their condition, and they suggest that the apex was in the form of a hinged flap that could be folded down to cover the Madonna and Child. It was presumably cut to fit the gap left by the shutters when they were closed, and it would, therefore, necessarily have been of trilobe shape (*figs. 2, 3, 4*).⁶

No similarly constructed tabernacles are known in Italy, but final confirmation of this reconstruction is found in a group of transalpine tabernacles with just such folding apices, one of which has a shape identical with that assumed for the work in Oxford. It is a small enamel tabernacle in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich (*fig. 5*),⁷ of mid-fourteenth-century or slightly later workmanship, said to have served subsequently as a "pocket-altarpiece" to Mary Stuart (1542-67). Another of the group is a metal tabernacle of the thirteenth century in the Abbaye de Charroux in France, with triangular apex and shutters (*fig. 6*),⁸ while a third is a fifteenth-century carved-wood shrine in the Marienkirche, Danzig, on which the folding parts are variations of those in Charroux (*fig. 7*)⁹.

The two first-mentioned of these tabernacles, moreover, support our theory concerning the purpose of the specially cut shutters and the flap, for in Charroux and Munich, as in Oxford, the former are so calculated as to leave uncovered parts of the central representations which might be important in devotions. In Charroux they are the Byzantine *encolpion* and the heads of the supporting angels, in Munich the heads of the two figures in the Visitation. It is possible that this idea was general in yet other earlier examples, now lost, but it seems to have been forgotten or found unnecessary in the course of time, for in the latest example, that in Danzig, the shapes are no longer dictated by any practical considerations but are purely decorative.

These prototypes are a first indication that the maker of the Sienese tabernacle was influenced by Northern example. The very fact that

three of four known folding apices are transalpine, that in Charroux being earlier, furnishes some ground for so explaining his use of the folding device. But further, although the trilobe apex in Munich happens to be later in date, other evidence indicates that he took the shape too from the North. The folding apices prove mere variations of types fixed rigidly to the panels beneath, which occur in the North at an earlier date, and among many of these with related arch-shapes are two trilobes:¹⁰ One is on a Mosan gilt-bronze and enamel reliquary tabernacle of the mid-twelfth century in the collection of the Ducs d'Arenberg at Nordkirchen, Belgium (*fig. 8*);¹¹ the other on a thirteenth-century Mosan or German reliquary panel of similar material in the Musée du Cinquanteaire, Brussels (*fig. 9*).¹² On the other hand, the Oxford tabernacle affords the only example of an Italian trilobe apex;¹³ nor are apices of other arch-shapes much commoner.¹⁴

Of the Northern works with apices of related shapes, one is an early thirteenth-century gilt-bronze and champlevé enamel tabernacle from the same Mosan region, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, of which the rounded apex together with the outer contours of the two arches of the main panel it spans recall a trilobe (*fig. 10*).¹⁵ Less closely but still significantly related is the semicircular apex on a twelfth-century Mosan tabernacle in Ste. Croix, Liège (*fig. 11*).¹⁶ Finally to be mentioned in the same group are two silver-gilt and enamel tabernacles in the Dutuit Collection of the Petit Palais, Paris, for although the apices have been lost, their original presence is attested by details of iconography. The elements of the Last Judgment displayed in them call for culmination in a Judge-Christ as they did in Oxford, and in the case of the bilobed example (*fig. 12*),¹⁷ the angels at the top of the shutters, inscribed *SCS*, *SCS* (*SANCTUS, SANCTUS*), the praise they uttered before the Lord in the vision of Isaiah (Is. vi, 3), assure us that he must originally have been there, especially as their glances are directed toward the place he would have occupied.¹⁸

However, the Oxford Tabernacle is related to the Northern reliquaries not only by the shape of its apex, and its folding, but also by important iconographical similarities. For all have Last Judgment motifs distributed over their surfaces, the most striking resemblance with our hypothetically reconstructed tabernacle being the half-length figure of the Judgment Christ in all of their apices.¹⁹ Although the Last Judgment as an integral scene is rather frequent in the shutters of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian tabernacles, our Sienese example is the earliest to show a symmetrical and centralized arrangement of elements taken from it, and this is a further indication of ultimate inspiration from the North.

The d'Arenberg reliquary (*fig. 8*) displays an extensive Judgment program giving the Cross great emphasis as the specific instrument of redemption.²⁰ However, the Cross is represented not pictorially but by an actual fragment of the Lignum Vitae, for which a rectangular niche is provided in the center of the main panel.²¹ The niche is supported on either side by winged and nimbed Virtues carrying other instruments of the Passion, the one with the lance, on the left, being inscribed VERITAS, the one with the sponge, on the right, IVDICIVM. Standing in a mandorla below is a personification of Divine Justice, inscribed IV-STI/CI-A, who is nimbed, and who is crowned as Queen of the Virtues.²² She is weighing the souls or the deeds of the resurrected. The multitudes waiting to be judged are depicted at either side, and the labels, OMNES - OMNES, which appear in the compartments below probably refer to them.²³ Two nimbed figures kneel at the feet of Justice and tip the dishes of her scales. Their identity is not certain, but they may represent the commissioners of the tabernacle who, by their haloes, include themselves among the Just and who, by their action, seek to influence Divine Justice in their own favor.²⁴ The upper portions of the figures of the great intercessors are seen at the sides of Justice, John the Baptist at the left, Mary at the right. Finally, in the apex above, among "the clouds of heaven" is the half-length Judge-Redeemer. His arms are outstretched symmetrically, both palms are turned outward and his right side is bared, three wounds

being visible. He is flanked on the left by the crown of thorns (CORONA SPINAE) and on the right by the vinegar cup (VAS ACETI). In the left shutter a full-length angel trumpets to arouse the Just, who are depicted rising from their tombs below him, while the Unjust are being called up by a similar angel in the right shutter. An inscription which is continuous over both groups of the awakened reads RESVRRECTIO MORTVORVM:²⁵

In the Cinquantenaire reliquary (*fig. 9*), the half-length Christ is fully clothed, his arms are similarly outspread, but no wounds are shown. He is accompanied by the sun on the left and the moon on the right. Below, in the center of the panel is applied an archiepiscopal cross, behind which are lodged fragments of the True Cross. It is given greater significance by being placed as though on a Golgotha, which is part of the all-over incised design. In the corners are the symbols of the four Evangelists:²⁶

In the Victoria and Albert tabernacle (*fig. 10*), the Redeemer is fully clothed, as in the Cinquantenaire, but his right hand is raised in judgment, while his left holds the Book of Life. He is accompanied by two small trumpeting angels in the full round, which are placed outside the contour of the apex.²⁷ In the main panel is a niche for the fragment of the Cross, again borne by two winged figures which are in this case not designated as Virtues. Above the niche are, however, two half-length Virtues inscribed MISERICORDIA and IVSTITIA. Beneath, are medallions containing the Crucifixion, which reiterates the allusion to the Cross, and the signs of the four Evangelists. Lower still, in a separate compartment, the Holy Women are depicted at the empty Sepulchre, a common symbol in this period for the Resurrection.²⁸ The enthroned Apostles, as though assisting at the Judgment, occupy the shutters.

The other tabernacles of the group, also, display more or less elaborate iconographic programs centering in the fragment of the Cross and alluding to the judgment. The tabernacle in Liège (*fig. 11*), has in the apex a half-length Redeemer with wounds exposed. His arms are raised

symmetrically, both palms turned outward. The niche for the Lignum Vitae is borne by the same full-length, nimbed and winged Virtues, VERITAS and IVDICIVM, both holding what appears to be a sponge, but this is undoubtedly an erroneous restoration. Near them are the instruments of the Passion in low relief, while a group of saints below carries the inscription RESVRRECTIO SANCTORVM.²⁹ A half-length winged figure above the niche bears a scroll with the word MISERICORDIA on it, and the twelve half-length Apostles are in the shutters. In the two tabernacles of the Petit Palais, Paris, cross-shaped niches in the central panels are carried by spear- and sponge-bearing figures. In both, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre are placed as in the Victoria and Albert example, while the Apostles are in the shutters. In addition, one of the tabernacles displays an important iconographic detail in a small altar in relief placed below the niche, upon which are three identical objects, in all probability candlesticks with lighted tapers. They are almost certainly meant to symbolize good works offered up to God.³⁰

It is, of course, not possible to fix definitely the iconographic details of the lost Oxford apex, but those shown in our reconstruction (*figs. 2, 3, 4*) are based upon a consideration of the available evidence. This must include, in addition to the above-mentioned reliquaries, the Italian examples of similarly placed Judgment motifs. These are, as a matter of fact, only three in number and, significantly enough, they are all Sienese. Only one was in a tabernacle, and of this only the center panel survives (*fig. 13*).³¹ The Redeemer is in the gable, full length and seated in a mandorla, while two trumpeting angels are at his sides. The other two examples are in altarpieces.³² The more important is the small pentaptych in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, assumed to have been commissioned from Simone Martini during his stay in Orvieto about 1320 but probably executed in large part by his brother-in-law, Lippo Memmi (*fig. 14*).³³ In it, the half-length Christ displaying his wounds in the pinnacle of the central panel is flanked by angels bearing instruments of the Passion and angels with trumpets in the lateral pinnacles. His left hand is extended in acceptance of the Just, his right raised in

rejection of the Unjust, and in this differentiation of gestures he distinguishes himself from all of the Northern group.³⁴ Of the second example, certainly by Lippo Memmi, only the central panel with the apex Christ survives in the Siena Gallery (*fig. 15*).³⁵ He resembles the Saviour in Boston, except that his gestures are reversed.³⁶

It seems likely that the Christ in the Oxford apex was half-length, for he is so in all the other cases discussed, except in the Sienese tabernacle center-panel of late date. Moreover, the shape of the apex would recommend it here as it did in the North. And it seems probable that a side of his torso was bared to display the wound, as it is not only in most of the Northern group and in the three Sienese examples but also in the majority of Italian Judgment representations elsewhere, since this more gentle type of Christ generally superseded the earlier, fully clothed, Supreme Judge of Eastern derivation. In addition, as we shall see, there was particular reason for emphasizing the wounds in such a devotional panel. It is more difficult to decide what his gestures may have been, but all the Sienese examples differentiating between acceptance and rejection are later in date, and it is probable that this type did not become common in Italy before its appearance in the frescoes by Giotto in the Arena Chapel, Padua, of about 1304/5. Therefore, the earlier variant with both arms raised symmetrically to display the pierced palms, which occurs almost universally in the North, as well as in Italy of the thirteenth century, is more likely to have been used in a turn-of-the-century Sienese work.³⁷

It has already been pointed out that the Oxford tabernacle belongs to a type of small portable panels that were ordered to serve in private devotions, but the choice of the particular scenes in it, and their details, remains to be explained. It is necessary, in fact, to inquire why the woman who commissioned it (she had, no doubt, her spiritual advisors) chose to have a Last Judgment in her panel, why she ordered a Crucifixion and a Stigmatization placed as she did, why she chose, among all possible Madonna types, the particular variant she did and, finally, what

motives prompted her to have herself portrayed in a kneeling position at the Madonna's feet.

It may be presumed that the answers to these questions lie in the character of the devotions in which the panel was meant primarily to serve and that this was determined by special circumstances in the life of the commissioner. As is usual with small private works, these are unknown, but we have, from the many written prayers that have come down to us as well as from writings about prayer, some knowledge of the devotions of the late Middle Ages generally, and we have, from various regions and in various materials from the tenth century onward, a considerable number of devotional panels. And although we lack textual explanation of the exact relations the latter bore to the former, an examination of the panels themselves against the general background of private piety of the period enables us to discover something of their nature.³⁸ We are aided by the inscriptions which appear on some of the panels, by details in the representations themselves, by the particular combination of representations selected, their symbolism, or by other special circumstances. But it is obvious that, in the last analysis, such a method will permit only tentative conclusions with respect to individual panels.³⁹

In the Oxford tabernacle we have no inscription, but the complex of its representations, details in them, and an important special circumstance, taken in conjunction with evidence furnished by other panels, all lead to the conclusion that it was meant, in the first instance, to serve a special kind of devotions, namely supplicatory prayer. The relations between picture and supplication in the Early Christian period have been conclusively demonstrated by specific prayers,⁴⁰ and although subsequent periods have received little attention, scattered evidence is available to indicate that similar relations persisted even to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴¹ The explanation of these relations lies in the wording of the prayers: in some of them, the suppliant addresses his plea to the Deity or the intercessor without, so to speak, any supporting argument, while in others he attempts various means of persua-

sion, among which a common device is to recall similar favors granted previously, furnishing the Deity or saint, as it were, with convincing paradigms.⁴² These are usually culled from the Old or New Testament, apocalyptic or patristic writings, but at times from later religious works. To illustrate such prayers, scenes were chosen to represent either the actual fulfillment of the plea or an event described by doctrine as necessary to that fulfillment, or they were chosen to represent the paradigm pictorially. In addition, icons were at times rendered "scenic" in order to depict the symbolic fulfillment of the plea. In these uses, which will become clear when we examine instances of them in specific panels, both icon and scene might still be precariously contained within an orthodox image cult.

But that popular belief concerning icons, especially images of the Madonna, in the laity and large sections of the clergy and religious alike, might go beyond orthodoxy is common knowledge.⁴³ The substance of the abuse, be it recalled, consisted in the transference to the icon of the accomplishing powers of the Deity, the Madonna or the saint it represented. Belief concerning scenes was open to similar aberrations. They too might be looked upon as independent wonder-workers, and it might be thought that by rendering pictorially the fulfillment of the plea, an accessory event or a paradigm for the fulfillment, they were effective instruments in bringing about that fulfillment. It is especially clear that if the recalling to God of his former mercies by means of prayed paradigm was commonly resorted to and thought effective, their recalling by vivid pictorial paradigm might also be thought effective. The picture in such a view partook of the efficacy of prayer itself, a transference of properties which, within the Christian ambient, is already evident in the third century.⁴⁴ It is such beliefs and practices as these that are to be kept in mind in attempting to fathom the motives behind private art.

The special circumstance favoring the ascription of supplicatory intention to the Oxford tabernacle lies in its connection with the group of Northern reliquaries, for both the tabernacle and the reliquaries can,

by virtue of similarities in their iconography — the presence of the Last Judgment motifs in both, the Crucifixion in the former and the Cross fragments in the latter — be related to similar supplicatory prayers. But the relation between picture and prayer in the twelfth-century works is so much more manifest and direct that an understanding of it may help in discerning the presence of its counterpart in the Sienese work, where, as is to be expected of the very early fourteenth century, a less obviously single-minded program is found. Moreover, the possibility has to be considered that the reliquaries may have furnished the ultimate source of inspiration for the tabernacle in yet this additional respect of the specific purpose it was intended to serve.⁴⁵

The Northern reliquaries are to be understood against the general eschatological preoccupations of the period in which they were made. The coming Judgment was, as it had been throughout the Middle Ages, imminent in men's minds, and concern with the remission of sins and with salvation, being of the very fabric of life, runs through much of its thought and much of its art; many of its prayers, at one point or another, make the plea for salvation and many of its pictures, of various subjects, can be ultimately linked to doctrine concerning salvation. But certain prayers and certain pictures relate explicitly and almost exclusively to it. The unified eschatological iconography of the entire group of Northern reliquaries, immediately apparent, is evidence enough that their owners' thoughts were turned upon final things. Moreover the fact that they are all containers for relics of the True Cross demonstrates that the owners' interests were not detached and theological but narrowly concerned with the saving of their own individual souls.

Relics of all kinds had, of course, always been harbored for their potency in aiding their owners to obtain divine favors, and the Church had been constrained to admit a certain power in them which she attributed to Divine Grace.⁴⁶ But it is clear from the literature of the entire Middle Ages that the line between power by grace and power by magic was thin or, indeed, in the popular mind, often non-existent. Theological

writings and the liturgies, as well as hymns and prayers, many still in use, point to the fact that the cult of the Cross rested from the beginning not upon general church-doctrine concerning redemption and salvation but upon specific popular belief in the actual saving power of the Cross, its signs or symbols and, from the time of the supposed rediscovery of the True Cross in the fourth century, more especially upon the power of its relics.⁴⁷

An outstanding demonstration of this belief is the fact that relics of the True Cross, in accordance with practice already followed with relics of the martyrs, were placed in pectorals and were thus worn about the neck much as charms and amulets had always been worn. The very fact that the term *phylacteria* was first applied only to these pectorals but later also to the elaborate reliquaries produced in Northern Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries demonstrates the latter to be in direct line of development from the former.⁴⁸ Thus they were no mere containers to glorify the Cross but were objects built up about relics that were kept, as they had always been kept, for their saving powers in favor of their owners. And it would have been a strange dilution of intent had the surrounding representations been considered mere illustrations of doctrine: they were almost certainly added to contribute, each in one of the ways discussed, their instrumental effectiveness in securing the inclusion of the owners among the Just on the Day of Judgment. The commissioners of the reliquaries seek, as it were, to assure salvation for their souls by virtue of the grace in both relic and "pictorial prayer," or, according to the case, by the use of both relic-magic and picture-magic. The reliquaries are, therefore, to be considered strongly and unifiedly apotropaic.

Thus, Christ the Judge and the other motifs from the Last Judgment in them are representations of the event in which Divine Justice would become apparent, the implication being that the Judgment must surely be in favor of the owners of the reliquaries who plead, nay claim, inclusion among the Just. They say, in effect, as Job had said, "Let him (God)

weigh me in a just balance, and let God know my simplicity (Job xxxi, 6).⁴⁸ The other *arma Christi*, which appear consistently in the group, are only a degree less effective than the Cross itself as instruments of salvation,⁴⁹ and the displaying of the wounds takes on special significance, since they too were the objects of cults embodying similar beliefs about their saving powers.⁵⁰ The figure of Divine Justice in the d'Arenberg tabernacle (*fig. 8*), with the two nimbed figures at her feet who are possibly the commissioners tipping her scales in their own favor, carries the same implication, as do the candlesticks on the altar, symbols of good works, in one of the Petit-Palais reliquaries (*Fig. 12*). An analogous idea is present in the representation of the resurrection of saints only in the Ste. Croix (*fig. 11*), and perhaps in the d'Arenberg tabernacle. The depiction of the Virtues invokes other qualities in the Deity which would assure favorable judgment, while the figures of Mary and John in the d'Arenberg tabernacle, and the Apostles of the Judgment wherever they occur, would serve as icons normally to be appealed to for their intercessory powers but open to the common unorthodox abuses. Finally, the Maries at the Sepulchre, a symbol of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven, is a scene used as a persuasive paradigm for the resurrection of the devotees to eternal life.⁵¹

The presence of the Stigmatization places the Oxford tabernacle, of course, within the sphere of Franciscan influence, and it is in the light of Franciscan ideas that a similar concern with salvation is discernible.⁵² For not only from writings ostensibly of St. Francis but also from those of his greatest interpreters, Thomas of Celano and St. Bonaventura, it is clear that Franciscanism echoed very typically the eschatological preoccupations of almost all contemporary thought.⁵³ In St. Francis' First Rule for the Order, in his so-called Testament, and in the lives by Celano (1228-29 and 1244-47) and Bonaventura (1260-63), both the belief that Francis, the "herald of the Great King" (I Cel. 16; Bon. Life, II, 5), was divinely appointed to preach and promise salvation to the sinning world and the belief in the divinely appointed mission of the Lesser Brethren, "given to the world for salvation" (II Cel. 70),

are plain.⁵⁴ The very name, Brothers Minor, was chosen for its soteriological implications as explained in Matthew xxv, 40, 45.⁵⁵ Their Christlike and Christ-imposed poverty was no mere penitential, expedient or ethical measure but a positive invitation to the repentant sinner to achieve salvation by the giving of alms: "Go," Celano has Francis saying, "for at this latest hour the Lesser Brethren have been lent to the world in order that the elect may fulfill in them that which shall bring them this commendation from the Judge: That which ye have done to one of my Lesser Brethren ye have done to me."⁵⁶ Herein is a circumstantial promise of reward on the Day of Reckoning to those who give alms. The Last Judgment, therefore, not only bespoke final fulfillment in the general doctrine of redemption and salvation but was also peculiarly and vitally linked with the very existence of Franciscanism, and it understandably occupied a central position in the Franciscan scheme.⁵⁷

And among the Lesser Brethren, St. Francis himself was the Least Brother (II Cel. 140) — thus the pre-eminent agent of salvation. His constant preoccupation with the Cross and the Crucified Christ, mentioned over and over again by Celano and Bonaventura, is integral to this agency, and in the end, the transmission of the marks of the Crucifixion through the Stigmatization was but a final and visible seal of authority upon it.⁵⁸ By this vicarious crucifixion, the "crucified servant of a crucified Christ" (I Cel. 95) was to bring about redemption and salvation for men.⁵⁹

In the mouth of the cautious Bonaventura, the idea never assumes an unorthodox tinge, but he nevertheless proceeds from such mild statements as: "Francis, now crucified with Christ alike in flesh and spirit...did also thirst, even as did Christ Crucified, for the multitude of them that should be saved" (*Life*, XIV, 1), through statements like: "Many of the dead have been miraculously raised through him" (*Life*, XV, 9), and through heading an entire section of the *Miracles*, "Of the Dead that were Raised," to the final passage of the *Life*, in which he himself prays that

by virtue of the power of the Cross, shown forth in St. Francis by the Stigmata, all may be led across the Jordan of their mortality into the Promised Land.

But from the rhapsodic Celano, we obtain foreknowledge of the consummation of ideas that was to come. His outpourings on the Stigmata make much of the parallel between Christ and St. Francis (I Cel. 114), but in the narrative of the vision of a dying Brother this parallel becomes an identity, for the Brother, seeing a multitude being led up to Paradise by a figure clad in purple, is told now that the leader is Christ, now that he is St. Francis (II Cel. 219).

A later life of St. Francis, of more popular character than either of the theologizing works mentioned, the *Floretum S. Francisci Assisensis*, commonly called the *Fioretti di S. Francesco*, seems to take the final plunge into unorthodoxy.⁶⁰ The compiler, Fra Ugolino da Monte Giorgio, relates that St. Francis, some time after his death and in answer to long and ardent prayer by one of the Brothers of the Order, disclosed the words which Christ had spoken at the moment of the Stigmatization. The fact that words were spoken is mentioned by both Celano and Bonaventura, the former reporting, however, that "Verily our venerable Father (Francis) was signed in five parts of his body with the token of the Cross and Passion, as if he had hung on the Cross with the Son of God...but therein a secret counsel lies hid, and a reverend mystery is covered which we believe to be known to God only and to have been in part disclosed by the Saint himself to a certain person" (I Cel. 90).⁶¹ And Bonaventura is equally non-committal (*Life*, XIII, 4). But how the popular mind must have ruminated these allusions is easily to be imagined, and the results are evident in Christ's message as "discovered" by Fra Ugolino or his sources:

Knowest thou, (Christ is made to say) what I have done to thee? I have given thee the stigmas that are the marks of my Passion, in order that thou be my Standard-bearer. And even

as I, on the day of my death, descended into limbo and delivered the souls I found there by virtue of these my stigmas, so do I grant to thee that every year, on the day of thy death, thou mayst go to purgatory and deliver all the souls thou shalt find there of thy three orders — Minors, Sisters and Penitents — and others likewise that shall have had great devotion unto thee, and thou shalt lead them up to the glory of Paradise, in order that thou be conformed to Me in thy death, even as thou art in thy life.⁶²

In the light of these beliefs, the original intention of the Oxford tabernacle begins clearly to emerge. It may be looked upon, in fact, as a small compendium of Franciscan teaching on salvation, and the immediate preoccupation of its commissioner with her salvation thus becomes manifest. The central position above the Madonna is occupied by the Last Judgment, the great happening in which this reward is to be meted out to the Just. This reward was promised anew to the Franciscans, and to others through their ministry, by the signing of St. Francis with the marks of Christ's Crucifixion,⁶³ and thus the Stigmatization in the right shutter — the new crucifixion — is balanced against the Crucifixion of Christ in the left shutter and is given equal importance with it. We find in Celano's *Lives* examples of the sort of prayers for salvation which might properly be addressed to St. Francis, such as: "Help, therefore, the sinners, most holy father, thou lover of sinners, and deign, we pray thee, of thine abundant mercy, to raise up by thy most glorious advocacy, those whom thou seest miserably lying in the defilement of their misdeeds" (I Cel. 83), or again, at the end of the work, a prayer for himself placed, however, in the mouths of all the Brethren, which terminates with the significant words: "Draw us, therefore, to thee, O worthy father...and by thy prayers join him (Celano) forever to the fellowship of the saints."⁶⁴ The pious woman who ordered the tabernacle would no doubt offer up similar prayers for herself and others, perhaps less elegantly phrased, but in the light of the popular beliefs briefly considered, it

is imaginable that she might be led to address St. Francis as a Redeemer in his own right — a role in which he would impermissibly overstep that of mere intercessor to which saints were rigidly held by the Church.

The Madonna and Child in the central panel would, of course, in everyday use be treated as other icons before which the usual prayers were to be offered. But to seek no more specific meaning in them would be to disregard entirely both the particular motif chosen and the presence of the commissioner at their feet. These peculiarities are to be explained satisfactorily only by presuming in them, too, a close connection with prayers for salvation — a presumption given added force by the likelihood of a certain unity of program in so small a work.

The Child leaning forward to bless the female figure kneeling in an attitude of prayer is in the position and action which are regularly his in portrayals of the Adoration of the Magi, and the kneeling figure is in the same relation to him as are the Magi in that scene. This motif seemingly abstracted from the Adoration occurs very frequently in various contexts in the fourteenth century and later — in altarpieces, in votive panels and frescoes, as well as in illustrations of devotional books.⁶⁵ In most of these, it perhaps bears little beyond its burden of showing the donors, owners, or others in the act of pious worship. Nevertheless, the implication is always present that salvation is the ultimate reward sought by the faithful supplicant. But in yet other contexts, the motif is clearly used to portray the specific plea for that reward. Such is unmistakably its meaning when it appears, as it regularly does, in funerary monuments and tombs at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century, in Rome, Tuscany, the Veneto and elsewhere.⁶⁶ In these representations, it is the defunct who kneels, usually recommended to the divine figures by an intercessor saint, often St. Francis, and the fact that it is entrance for the soul of the defunct into the Everlasting Kingdom which is being sought is not to be questioned. As an example, one early occurrence in Tuscany may suffice, the fresco within the clois-

ters of S. Francesco, Lucca, attributed to the school of Deodato di Orlando, which is over the tomb of one Bonagiunta Tignozini, dead in 1274, and probably belongs to it (*fig. 16*).

And as corollary evidence of the existence of such symbolism generally, a small Riminese panel of the first half of the fourteenth century may be cited, in which the idea is given positive illustration, in connection not with the Adoration motif, it is true, but with a plea directly to Christ (*fig. 17*).⁶⁷ He is represented in full length, and the kneeling commissioner is recommended to him by St. John the Evangelist, while St. Peter, as guardian of the portals of Paradise, stands with arms outstretched to welcome the petitioner, the rest of the Apostles and the intercessor Baptist being grouped behind Christ to indicate their place in heaven. The gestures of Christ lay great emphasis upon his wounds, specific instruments of salvation (*cf. ante*). Consequently, it seems safe to see a similar significance imposed upon the Adoration motif in the Oxford tabernacle by the complex of scenes concerned with salvation of which it is part.⁶⁸

Ample grounds for this specific symbolism are found in exegetical writings on the Adoration of the Magi, as well as in circumstances surrounding the occurrence of the scene in art. St. Ephraem (fl. ca. 306-323) originated the particular figurative interpretation of the Adoration which persisted in various authors down to the fourteenth century. More or less explicitly the idea was gradually formulated that the Magi represented the peoples of the whole earth — *primitiae gentium*, St. Augustine calls them⁶⁹ — led by the star (the Word) to seek admittance both to God's house on earth, the Church, and to his eternal dwelling in Heaven.⁷⁰ In many representations of the scene, a heavenly locus is suggested by details such as the portrayal of Christ as King of Heaven, enthroned and surrounded by a celestial court, the crowning of Mary as Queen of Heaven or the presence of the palms or flowers of Paradise.⁷¹ In a Bonaventura, the idea is dissolved in mystic implication, the three

Kings becoming three qualities in the devout soul seeking God through meditation to contemplation: "Where, therefore, art Thou whom we seek? Where art Thou whom we desire in everything and before everything?" he asks in his treatise on the Adoration, headed "How the pious soul should seek and adore the Son of God as did the Magi." But he can nevertheless ask, in a somewhat less esoteric mood: "O sweetest, most beloved eternal boy, child of the ages, when shall we see Thee, when shall we find Thee, when shall we appear before Thy face?"⁷² The last phrase is certainly an allusion, though it be buried under layers of recondite mysticism, to the Final Day.

According to many writers, the acceptance of the Magi's plea is assured by the gifts they bring, and the relation between full scene and abstracted motif is made even more impressive if we venture to assume an implied offering of gifts on the part of the supplicants in the latter, gifts of repentance, good works, and piety.⁷³ Again, many tests labor this parallel; Bonaventura exhorts the devout soul to bring gifts as the Magi did: "Bring, I say to you, the gold of passionate love, bring the incense of devotion, bring the myrrh of bitter contrition; the gold of love because of his many graces granted you, the incense of devotion *because of the joys prepared for you*, the myrrh of repentance because of the sins you have committed..."⁷⁴

In specific allusion to the way of salvation followed by the Magi, the full scene appears at times on tombs,⁷⁵ and in certain instances the kneeling figure of the defunct is integrated to it in a most revealing manner. For example, the middle register of a fresco, over the tomb of the lords of Castelnuovo, in the Abbey of Vezzolano (Piedmont), of about 1353, shows the Madonna and Child enthroned in the center, the Christ facing the three Magi on the left, the Madonna in contrapposto turning to welcome the kneeling figure of the defunct on the right, who is recommended by an angel, in all probability meant as St. Michael (*fig. 18*). Other members of the defunct's family, probably the commissioners of the fresco, are certainly portrayed in the Magi themselves.⁷⁶

Thus, the implications relating to salvation in both scene and separate motif seem identical, and it is to be presumed that the latter was chosen for the tabernacle precisely for this reason. It is, in fact, an icon rendered scenic in order to illustrate symbolically the fulfillment of the plea for salvation: the commissioner represents herself praying for that grace; the Heavenly Child is made to bless her in sign of acceptance.⁷⁷

Culminating evidence of belief in the persuasive powers of the tabernacle is found in the very fact that the woman who ordered it chose to have herself portrayed in the attitude of prayer before the Madonna and Child. Although such kneeling figures in private panels bear, it is true, an outward resemblance to donor figures in public works, they cannot be of the same motivation. Having one's portrait put upon a public monument may, to some extent at least, be explained as a showing forth of one's wealth and piety for all the people to see, but in private panels to be observed only by oneself, and perhaps by one's family and friends, such social considerations are well-nigh absent. In these, the portraits can concern only the devotee and his God, represented in the icon, and they must be accounted for within this context.

The explanation for them seems to be twofold. First, they may be considered examples of pictures invested with the power of the thing represented, much as were icons and scenes. They are, in fact, direct representations of the act of prayer, and the power of the act itself might well be assigned to them (cf. ante). They would at the same time assure the Deity of the commissioner's piety and be effective with the Deity in obtaining the mercies desired. But there is another, a complementary, explanation. In the late Middle ages, prayer, either voluntary or imposed by the Church, had replaced most other forms of penance, a development rendered possible by the fact that it was considered a good work in itself, since both Christ and the Apostles had exhorted to prayer.⁷⁸ This led to the use of fixed formulae repeated over and over in proportion to the gravity of sins committed; and in connection with indulgences,

an emphasis came to be laid upon the mere quantity of prayer — the more prayer the more merit piled up for the devotee.⁷⁹ Therefore, the praying portrait becomes a sort of perpetualized prayer, a perpetualized penance and *satisfactio operis*.⁸⁰

Thus, in the Oxford tabernacle, the particular type of icon chosen, with the kneeling figure of the commissioner, may be almost as revelatory of the panel's true apotropaic intentions as were the fragments of the True Cross in the Northern reliquaries — the relations between relic and supplicatory prayer for salvation and those between picture and prayer for that grace may have resembled each other. The scenic Madonna and Child icon may, indeed, have taken the place of the Cross fragments as a talismanic instrument for obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven. And the subsidiary scenes would be contributory to this main idea, much as they were in the reliquaries. The Last Judgment would become no mere illustration of Franciscan doctrine but the persuading representation of the chief event necessary for the saving of the suppliant's soul, just as it was in the North, the symmetrically extended arms and the prominently displayed wounds, which we have presumed in the lost figure of Christ, becoming in this context almost a certainty. The Crucifixion and Stigmatization, as scenes, would be no mere illustrations of events doctrinally related to salvation but would be independently effective in its achievement, and the images of Christ the Judge, Christ crucified and St. Francis stigmatized would assume autonomous powers to aid therein.

It has been shown that the Sienese tabernacle in Oxford, of the very early fourteenth century, repeats a variety of features found previously in a group of Northern reliquaries of the True Cross made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries — the folding of the apex, the shape of the apex, the exposure of a principal part of the icon, the Saviour and, probably, trumpeting angels in the apex, other Last Judgment elements, and finally, a concern for personal salvation. Although there was a considerable time gap between the Northern works and the Oxford tabernacle, although one or the other of these features may have had its ori-

gin in Byzantium and so reached Italy directly from there, and although the use of such a panel in connection with a special concern on the part of devout persons seems particularly difficult to restrict plausibly to a single line of transmission, nevertheless, the fact that all the features enumerated exist together only in the North leaves little doubt that Northern objects brought to Italy influenced both our Sienese artist and his commissioner, either immediately or through earlier Italian adaptations which have not survived. That there was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a lively traffic between Italy and the North, and especially between Siena and the fairs held several times yearly in the Champagne, is fully attested.⁸¹ Visits to these fairs by wealthy Sienese would have afforded ample opportunity for the purchase or commissioning of small liturgical or devotional accessories, such as illuminated books or panels of various materials. And as possible explanation for the transmission of pious practices, it is to be considered that the entire movement toward private devotions under the Franciscans in Italy was profoundly influenced by the earlier teachings of Anselm of Canterbury and particularly of St. Bernard.⁸²

But our Sienese artist was no mere imitator, and his work shows characteristics which are rooted in Italian tradition. Thus, in accordance with local genius, he very naturally chose to work in a pictorial medium rather than in metal and enamel. And in accordance with widespread local practice, he gave the principal position in his work to the Madonna and Child,⁸³ choosing scenes for the shutters which were already common in locally produced tabernacles and which have implications to be understood, as we have seen, only in the light of local lore.

That the ideas embodied in the Oxford tabernacle had a certain currency in Italy is suggested by the fact that three other Italian tabernacles have survived which reveal by the complex of scenes in them similar relations to thoughts or prayers concerning salvation — two by the following of Bernardo Daddi and dating from the period 1330 to 1335, one

a later Cionese work — and several other panels may, in all probability, be connected with them.

The first of the tabernacles is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (No. 32.100.70), from the Michael Friedsam Collection (*fig. 19*).⁸⁴ The kneeling figures are a monk and a nun, each recommended by a saint. The Stigmatization and Crucifixion in the shutters are balanced against each other as in Oxford and may be given the same significance.⁸⁵ The Annunciation is in the shutter tips, Gabriel on the left, Mary on the right. This splitting of the scene goes back at least to the eleventh century, in various positions;⁸⁶ it occurs in the spandrels of Italian tabernacles throughout the thirteenth century, appears in the pinnacles for the first time in the giant tabernacle in the Gallery of Perugia (No. 877) of the end of the thirteenth century, and becomes a favorite device of Daddi and his school. It might, therefore, be that mere formal convenience or tradition sufficiently explains its presence, but as a well-established symbol for the Incarnation, in this particular context it certainly proclaims its significance as an annunciation of redemption.⁸⁷

The second Daddesque tabernacle was in the Oskar Bondy Collection, Vienna (*fig. 20*).⁸⁸ It resembles the foregoing in its use of the Adoration motif, the Crucifixion in the right shutter and the Annunciation in the pinnacles. The kneeling couple consists of a monk and a nun. The two saints in the left shutter, replacing the Stigmatization, are, like St. Francis but with less specific connotations, to be taken as intercessors to whom prayers for aid in obtaining salvation might be addressed.

The latest tabernacle of the group, of the end of the fourteenth century, was in the Larderel Collection, Livorno (*fig. 21*).⁸⁹ Here, the more sophisticated treatment of space demanded by the taste of the period has led to a diagonal placing of the Madonna and saints, and this renews in a striking manner the resemblance to the Adoration scene, which, in much earlier periods, was similarly turned. A kneeling couple, perhaps children, are recommended by a bishop saint, possibly St. Louis of

Toulouse. The Stigmatization and Crucifixion are to be interpreted as before. The relation of the Descent into Limbo with thoughts of salvation is obvious, nor is it difficult to understand the role of the Resurrection. They are, in fact, examples of the illustration of paradigms for the resurrection of the devotee to eternal life.⁹⁰

In these works, as in the Oxford tabernacle, the icons and the subsidiary scenes join in assuring us of the particular concern of their owners. In several other panels the imputation of such a concern is less certain, for in the absence of scenes it is dependent upon their analogy with the icons of the foregoing group. The earliest among these panels is the small Madonna Enthroned in the Pinacoteca in Siena, by Duccio di Buoninsegna, which is either a diptych wing or the center panel of a tabernacle, more probably the former (*fig. 22*).⁹¹ Three Franciscan monks are kneeling at the Madonna's feet, and while the Child blesses them in the familiar manner, she, with a sweep of her mantle usual to the Madonna of Misericordia, extends her protection to them. They recall more vividly than the other commissioner figures the allusion to the three Kings — formally, since they are three and since their regularly related positions are a development from those of the Kings in certain Adorations;⁹² conceptually, since the monks portrayed must have been familiar with St. Bonaventura's writings on the Epiphany. That they are not merely in adoration but actually in supplication is plainly indicated by the tense gestures of their imploring hands, and reason for considering the possibility of supplication specifically for salvation lies in the Misericordia gesture of the Madonna, which, related to her intercessory powers, often alludes directly to salvation.⁹³

This panel is followed, at least in the age of its stylistic traditions, by a gabled tabernacle center-panel in the Museum of Budapest (No. 41), from the ambience of the S. Cecilia Master, probably painted between 1330 and 1335 (*fig. 23*).⁹⁴ The kneeling figures are two, male and female. They are recommended by St. John the Baptist, conceivably the patron of the former, whose aid in obtaining favorable judgment is thus

invoked. A small tabernacle center-panel, Sienese of the first half of the fourteenth century, is in the Philip Lehman Collection, New York (*fig. 24*).⁹⁵ In it, the Adoration motif has been modified, the Child turning in contrapposto, but the gesture remains that of blessing. A saint recommends the single commissioner, a layman. Finally to be connected with the group is a provincial Cionese work, formerly in a dealer's hands in Florence (*fig. 25*).⁹⁶ A lay father and his son kneel before the Madonna and Child, and the saintly intercessor himself forms a third in the group, which is thus made an allusion to the Kings of the Adoration.⁹⁷ In all these panels, the presence of intercessors affords an additional analogy with the motif in funerary monuments.

A final question has been held for mention at this point because no attempt at resolving it can be made without a review of all the panels of the group. It has been assumed throughout that the kneeling figures were portraits of the commissioners, who were thought of as praying for their own salvation. But alternatives present themselves. They may, first of all, represent not the commissioners themselves but people, perhaps relatives, for whom they intended to pray or to whom they may even have presented the panels. This last circumstance might be likely for those panels in which the supplicants are monks or nuns, ostensibly without the means of paying for the paintings, but in the light of what is known concerning the non-observance of the rule of poverty, it is by no means certain. In either case, the panels may be thought of as having been ordered by persons whose thoughts were turned constantly on the life to come, and the number of them was great, or they may have been ordered by less lugubrious individuals, in whom thought of the hereafter became insistent only during periods of great personal danger, such as a perilous voyage or a serious illness, or during periods of repentance following upon the commission of egregious sins and in connection with pleas for their remission. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the panels were ordered by relatives of people who had departed this life, for the saving of whose souls they intended to pray, and that the kneeling figures represent the defunct.⁹⁸

The evidence in favor of supposing the supplicants in the panels dead lies principally in the analogy of the iconography with that of the funerary monuments, in which there is no doubt that the supplicants represented are defunct. But such an analogy is not compelling, since a similar position of the Madonna and Child has been found in so many contexts where it must rather be supposed that the kneeling figures were still alive.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, it is tempting to reflect at length upon this alternative, for if the panels were indeed funerary, they might well have been ordered for use with prayers in the Offices for the Dead which formed a part of most devotional books of the period. Such a theory is lent some credibility by the fact that these prayers are almost uniquely pleas for salvation and thus conform to the prayers which, as suggested for other reasons, in all likelihood lay behind the panels. Moreover, at times these prayers use precisely the paradigms found pictured in the panels — the Descent into Limbo, the Resurrection, etc. Finally, if the great *Dies Irae*, composed in the Franciscan circle and perhaps by Thomas of Celano himself, with its rich Last Judgment imagery, may be presumed to have formed a part of the Masses for the Dead at so early a date, it might well explain the disposition of the commissioner and artist of the Oxford tabernacle to take over Last Judgment motifs from what prototypes were at hand.¹⁰⁰ But, in the last analysis, since the evidence is inconclusive, it would seem necessary to decide that no rule may be laid down with respect to the persons represented and that, despite outward similarities, such panels might be ordered under various circumstances.

Our conclusions concerning the Italian devotional-panel type to which the Sienese tabernacle in Oxford belongs may now be reviewed. Although panels of this type would subsequently most certainly serve the general needs of private piety, the combinations of representations in them are most reasonably explained by supposing the representations to have been intended to serve originally in supplicatory prayer for salvation. The scenes may more or less manifestly be linked to salvation, and the Madonna and Child motif taken from the Adoration of the Magi very probably represents the favorable reception of such prayers offered by

the kneeling figures, who may be taken to be either living persons or persons who had departed this life. These interpretations receive reinforcement from the connections of the Oxford tabernacle with a group of transalpine reliquaries to which such an intention may, in view of their containing fragments of the True Cross, unhesitatingly be ascribed. Moreover, general evidence concerning the use of icons and scenes in connection with supplicatory prayers, the specific evidence of the praying figures in private context and, again, the relations with the Northern reliquaries betray latent beliefs which tended, to an extent indeterminate, to make these panels not mere illustrations of doctrine concerning salvation but independent instruments to assure it.¹⁰¹

EXCURSUS

THE STYLE AND THE DATE
OF THE OXFORD TABERNACLE

Stylistic consideration of the tabernacle in Oxford is hampered by its generally grimy, overpainted state and by the fact that, in the comparatively untouched areas, the surface enamels have come away, especially in the faces and most notably in the faces of the Madonna and Child (*fig. 26*). Her mantle is completely overlaid by a smear which obliterates its decorative borders and the delicate arabesques of its edges, still faintly discernible, nevertheless, under the thick layer of later paint, and perhaps adds the piece at the lower left which changes its contour completely. These are the factors that have stood in the way of convincing attribution.¹⁰² Since it was originally given to the school of Duccio some time before 1328, it has been ascribed to Cimabue (by the Oxford Library and others), to Segna di Bonaventura (by Langton Douglas and Van Marle) and finally, again to the school of Duccio (Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Borenius).

However, that the work is Ducciesque and closely dependent upon the Rucellai Madonna is obvious at once. Although generally more elongated, the Madonna is similar in posture and in the way the drapery falls about her head and down over her neck and body, and the arabesques of the mantle must have followed closely the pattern of the Rucellai, to judge from what is still to be detected of them. The turn of the throne and the model of the two-arched footstool, too, are taken directly from the larger painting. Further analogies with Duccio's works may be found in the angels, as for example, between the head of the left lowest angel, with its tilt, and the corresponding angel in the Rucellai, and between those at the top of the throne and the spandrel angels in the Perugia Gallery (No. 29). Other details as well reveal the close relation between the two masters: the drawing of the Child's left foot, which is identical with the same foot in Perugia, and his position, which is close to that in the panel with the three Franciscans in the Siena Pinacoteca (*fig. 22*).

But within the sphere of Ducciesque influence, a multitude of features which seem never to have been heeded place the panel in close proximity to the so-called Master of Città di Castello as he confronts us not only in the large panel in the city from which he derives his name but also in a series of other works: a half-length Madonna in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenha-

gen; half-length Saints John the Baptist and Peter in the Yale University Gallery; a pentaptych in the Siena Academy (No. 33); four half-length saints from Crevole, now in the same Academy (Nos. 29-32) and the Madonna which was probably in their center in Crevole, now in the Opera del Duomo of Siena. More recently a half-length Madonna in the Detroit Museum has been connected with the group (*fig. 27*).¹⁰³ Almost every detail in the Oxford Madonna and Child finds echo somewhere in these works.

Although the Oxford Madonna is small in scale, she towers up in a monumental fashion which approximates the truly remarkable achievement in Città di Castello. The draping of the mantle around her head and the sweep of its left edge (*fig. 28*) are similar to these features in Detroit, Copenhagen and the Siena pentaptych and are, in their persistent adherence to the formula of the Rucellai, different from anything else in the works of Duccio's followers save in the *Maestà* of the London National Gallery (No. 565), which has at times been connected with the group but which is manifestly by a different though related hand. Her unusually low forehead, to the very shape of the area exposed under the mantle, is identical with that in the Rucellai and in Detroit. Her right profile, the way it is cast against the drapery, as well as the outline of this drapery, are similar throughout the group, although the Oxford and Detroit panels show the closest relation to the prototype. The pull of the drapery over the Oxford Child's legs is seen again in the Detroit, Academy and Opera panels; the sharp folds over the arm of the left lowest angel in Oxford are echoed in those in the robe of the Child in Città di Castello, in the Opera and in Detroit.

Significant is the particular variant of the motif of the Madonna's right hand over the foot of the Child (*fig. 28*), which recurs in Città di Castello and, slightly modified, in the Opera Madonna, a shop trick found nowhere else in Sienese painting. In posture it is closer to the other hands of the group than to any outside it (where the common gesture reverts to the Rucellai), and those of the group are among themselves almost identical. The Madonna's left hand is like that in Detroit and, to a lesser degree, that in the Opera panel.

And due allowance being made for damages and overpaint, the details of facial modelling are similar in all these works: the eye is of similar length; its clearly defined, well-arched and highlighted upper lid, with the highlighting and shading of its lower lid, the arch of the brow above, and the line along the nose to the brow at the side farthest from us are common to the group. The glance is identical in Oxford, Copenhagen and Detroit. The modelling of the nose-end

and of the alae is alike in the various Madonnas and in many of the saints, harking back to the schematizations of the Rucellai Madonna. On the other hand, the group shows tendencies towards simplification of this feature, evident principally in the small figures such as the angels but also, apparently, in the Oxford and Detroit Madonnas, although a damage in Oxford and the fact that, in spite of the ostensible validity of the crackle, the Detroit panel has almost certainly been repainted at that point make judgment of this detail difficult. In the noses of the frontal figures, the round bulbous ends sharply separated from the alae are the same in the right lowest angel at Christ Church and in the various lateral saints. The mouths are similarly drawn and lighted throughout, as are the chins.

But perhaps the most striking features in Oxford are the long, prehensile fingers with the highlighted articulations, visible both in the Madonna and in the angels, whose hands seem to caress throne and cushion as though palpating their textures. This particularity separates the panel from others of the group, which show the chubbier hands typical of Duccio, but a somewhat similar drawing is to be discovered, nevertheless, in the hands of the Citta di Castello angels, the spandrel angels in Copenhagen, the apex angels of the Siena four saints and, especially, the apex Christ in the Siena pentaptych, as well as in the left hand of the Detroit Madonna.

Moreover, characteristic formal features pervade the group and separate it from other works. The particular pattern of the coffered decoration in the lower part of the Oxford throne is found elsewhere in Sienese painting only in the throne at Città di Castello. The haloes, too, are similar throughout, not only in the obvious features of the encircling punched rosettes between two incised lines and the three-membered pyramids of punchings at intervals all around (absent in Città di Castello and Oxford) but also in the designs of the main fields — floral and foliate incised scrolls on a hatched ground — in various degrees of finesse and elaboration, it is true, but all stemming ultimately from certain of the Rucellai haloes.

Assuredly, these resemblances are very great; but there are differences. Most important, perhaps, are certain divergencies in the shapes — shorter, less squarish ovals than in the nuclear works and less plasticity, the dark blue-green-black shadow evident in these and carried to exaggeration in the related works of the Master of the London Maesta being almost entirely absent. Although these things may well mark an early work — they are certainly admissible within the development of a single personality — they nevertheless prohibit the unconditional attribution of the tabernacle to the Master of Citta di Castello. It is most closely related to

the Detroit Madonna, and the two panels seem to stand somewhat apart. But however that may be, both are consignable, by their every feature, to the same coherent group in the immediate circle of Duccio to which the accepted works of the Citta di Castello Master belong.

How much time may have elapsed between the painting of the Rucellai Madonna about 1285 and the Oxford tabernacle is difficult to establish. It seems certain the latter was executed before Duccio's *Maestà* of 1308-11, for it is difficult to conceive of a painter working so close to the master who could remain entirely untouched by its innovations and who would at a subsequent date return to the Rucellai for inspiration. In spite of the fact that the throne has carelessly been called Cosmatesque,¹⁰⁴ it shows little or no relation to the massive and elaborate inlaid-marble throne which appears in every Sienese panel known to have been painted later than the *Maestà*, where this style appears for the first time in Siena. In the small proportions and light construction of its back, it recalls rather the late thirteenth-century Florentine thrones of the Magdalen Master, as in his dossal at Yale, and of other masters, as in a Madonna panel recently gone to Yale from the Griggs Collection and another in the Stoclet Collection, Brussels.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the "star-and cross" pattern of the stuff hung on it, although too generally current to afford any sure criterion, is closer in detail to the Rucellai than to the *Maestà*. Thus, the tabernacle may well have been painted about the turn of the century or very slightly later.

But final decisions, both as to authorship and date, must await a thorough cleaning of the Oxford panel. This might reveal further analogies with the Citta di Castello Master which would establish it as surely one of his early works, in which case it would become extremely important as a link with his prototypes and would thus aid in explaining his origins.

A NEW DEVOTIONAL-PANEL TYPE IN
FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

NOTES

1. T. Borenius, *Pictures by the old masters in the Library of Christchurch*, Oxford, 1916, p. 39, No. 70. Height of central panel: 0,367 cms.; width: 0,253 cms. The tabernacle came to the library as part of the W. T. H. Fox-Strangways gift in 1828. My attention was first called to the problem it evokes by Dr. Richard Offner, to whom I am indebted for continued advice in the preparation of this paper.
2. For the style and dating of this panel, see the Excursus.
3. Those small panels, such as the Oxford tabernacle, which display kneeling figures were probably made to order, but others without them, perhaps only those of inferior quality, may have been bought ready-made. There is indication of this, for example in Venice, where devotional panels were sold in the market place (L. Testi, *Storia della pittura veneziana*, Bergamo, 1909, I, p. 139). Kneeling figures in altarpieces, votive panels and devotional panels alike are usually referred to as *donors*, and in the first two this word most often describes them correctly. But in the third, they are not donors but commissioners, since the panels were not *donated* but were usually retained for private use by the persons who ordered them. Where the kneeling figures are monks or nuns, it is possible that their families commissioned the works for their use, but we have no definite information on this score (*cf. post* for an alternative interpretation).
4. Tabernacles are sometimes called triptychs or triptych tabernacles.
5. A provincial Last Judgment in the tympanum of the Cathedral of Gemona (Julian Alps), of the early fourteenth century, is a rare example of the omission of these angels (G. Bragato, *Da Gemona a Venzone*, Bergamo, 1913, p. 53). On the other hand, trumpeting angels occur in several cases without the Resurrection figures, e.g. in the Chapel of S. Silvestro of the SS. Quattro Coronati in Rome and in the Simonesque pentaptych in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (*cf. post*).
6. The reconstruction contained in figures 3 and 4 is only indicative as far as details of moldings and iconography are concerned.
7. V. Juaristi, *Esmaltes*, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, 1933, pl. XXX.
8. Reproduced and described by the Société d'archéologie française, *Congrès archéologique de France, LXXII^e session*, Angoulême, 1912, I, p. 118. Cited by Joseph Braun, *Die Reliquare*

- des christlichen Kultus u. ihre Entwicklung, Freiburg i. B., 1940, p. 280, who refers to A. Brouillet, *Description des reliquaires trouvés dans l'ancienne Abbaye de Charroux*, Poitiers, 1856, pp. 11 ff. This reliquary encloses a Byzantine *encolpion* of earlier date.
9. Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280, fig. 259. It contains a Madonna statue of the third quarter of the fourteenth century.
 10. Apices of this sort are not confined to transalpine Europe of the twelfth or thirteenth century but are found in Byzantium as early as the tenth. Of various shapes, they occur in the illumination of manuscript pages as well as on portable panels of many kinds. For examples of trilobes, see Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. gr. 70, fol. 308, Byzantine Gospels, tenth century (photograph in Frick Art Reference Library, New York); Monastery of Megaspilaeon, cod. 1, fols. 37, 80, Byzantine Gospels, tenth century (K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. u. X. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pl. XVII, fig. 89). For the much commoner semicircular shape, see Toledo (Spain), carved steatite plaque, Byzantine, twelfth century (O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 240, fig. 149); Chambery, Church, ivory diptych, Byzantine, twelfth century (O. Wulff, *Altchristliche u. Byzantinische Kunst*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1914-18, p. 611, fig. 527). It seems possible that these apices came to the Mosan region along with other Byzantine influences which are admittedly present in its enamel work (see O. von Falke & H. Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt, 1904, pp. 3 ff.; F. Boch, *Die Byzantinischen Zellschmelze der Sammlung Dr. Alex. Swenigorodskoi*, Aachen, 1896, Introduction).
 11. M. G. Termé, *L'art ancien au pays de Liege*, 3 album vols., Brussels, 1905, I, pl. 9; von Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Height: 0,27 cms. The appurtenance of the apex might, at first sight, appear questionable, since the character of its metalwork frame seems to differ from that of the panel below. However, the concordance of the enamel style and of the iconography leaves little doubt that the two parts belong together, even though one or the other may have been reframed. Moreover, the inscriptions in the enamel above the figurations reflect the present outline of the apex curve for curve and thus attest the fact that its shape is original. The shutters being rectangular, the overall shape of the tabernacle forms a link between the ordinary rectangular type and the special type in Oxford and Munich.
 12. *L'art pour tous*, XIV, 1875, No. 386; J. Destrée & A. J. Kymeulen, *Les Ausées Royaux du Parc du Cinquantenaire, etc.*, Brussels, n.d., I, unpagged; von Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 66. These authorities date the reliquary in the beginning of the thirteenth century (von Falke, ca. 1220). Height: 0,75 cms.; width: 0,308 cms.

13. The use of the trilobe as an outline of mass, as in apices, is related to, but distinct from, its use as an arch shape. In this latter role it occurs in Northern Europe perhaps as early as the ninth century and is common there from the early twelfth. In its early occurrences it is a true trilobe, whereas later it may appear as a cusped round arch. It is not demonstrable in Italy before the mid-twelfth century, early occurrences there being in the pulpit of S. Maria in Valle Porciuncula, at Rosciolo (near Avezzano in the Abruzzi), of the mid-twelfth century (C. Ricci, *Romanesque Architecture in Italy*, London, 1925, p. 176) and in the pulpit of S. Maria del Lago, at Moscufo (near Teramo), by Nicodemus, datable 1158 \pm (*ibid.*, p. 188). In Siena itself it seems not to occur until one hundred years later in Niccolò Pisano's pulpit there (1285-89), having been used slightly earlier by that master in his Pisan pulpit (1260). It occurs, as well, over certain of Guido da Siena's Madonnas, e. g., that in the Siena Palazzo Pubblico (1271). The way for its use in a Sienese apex may have been prepared by this more general use as a Romanesque arch form.
14. A few occur at a somewhat later date on panels from the Veneto and Emilia, e.g., Turin, Museo Civico, No. 3031, églomise diptych, Bolognese, fourteenth century (*Nostra Giottesca a Firenze, Catalogo*, Bergamo, 1937, No. 229, pl. 121); Detroit, Institute of Arts, No. 208, diptych wing, painted on wood, Venetan, fourteenth century (Museum photograph).
15. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, *One Hundred masterpieces, Early Christian and Mediaeval*, London, 1930, fig. 33, No. 7947, 1862. Height: 0,58 cms. Width: 0,37 cms. From the Soltkyoff Collection: see C. J. Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen-âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance*, 6 vols., Paris, 1864-66, album vol. II, pl. 145; von Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
16. J. Helbig, *L'art mosan*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1906, I, pl. opp. p. 48; Braun, *op. cit.*, fig. 238; Termé, *op. cit.*, pl. 25; von Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 66, who dates it ca. 1150 and attributes it to Godefroid de Claire. Height of central panel: 0,55 cms.
17. For the single-arched tabernacle, see Braun, *op. cit.*, fig. 237; von Falke, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff., who dates it ca. 1145 and attributes it to Godefroid de Claire. Height of central panel: 0,34 cms. For the double-arched tabernacle, see G. Cain, *La Collection Dutuit*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905, II, pl. III; *Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, La Collection Dutuit, Reproductions des principales oeuvres d'art*, Paris, 1908, unpagged; von Falke, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff., who dates it ca. 1155 and attributes it to Godefroid de Claire. Height of central panel: 0,335 cms.
18. The folding apices in Munich and Danzig have no iconographic relevance to our tabernacle, the former showing the Coronation of the Virgin, the latter only the formal ornament present elsewhere in the work. In Charroux, however, the Christ enthroned in a mandorla bears a

loose conceptual relation to the Judgment Christs.

In its use of Last Judgment iconography, the Northern group would seem to owe its ultimate inspiration to Byzantium, as it did in its use of an apex, for the Deësis, which is symbolic of the Last Judgment, occurs in Byzantine ivory devotional panels as early as the tenth or eleventh century (e.g. Paris, Louvre, the so-called d'Harbaville tabernacle). And it is significant to find an example of Byzantine origin brought to the Mosan region itself: in Limburg, a tenth-century enamel box-reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross, ordered for the Emperors Constantine VII and Romanus II (948-59), has a Deësis on its cover, with six Apostles above and six below (C. R. Morey, *Medieval Art*, New York, 1942, pp. 123-124). The association of the Cross with the Last Judgment is ultimately based upon Matthew, xxiv, 30: "et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo," the "signum," although at times variously interpreted, being most often identified with the Cross. Descriptions of the Judgment with the Cross as an important element occur as early as the first and second centuries, in the Apocalypse of Peter and in the Apocryphal Epistle of the Apostles (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 511, 490). St. Jerome treats of the matter in his *Comm. in Evang. Matt.*, cap. xxiv (Migne, P. L., XXVI, col. 180), and St. Augustine at even greater length in his hundred-and-fifty-ninth sermon, *De Passione Domini*, VI, *Seu de cruce et latrone*, cap. 11; *Cur crux in iudicio apparebit* (Migne, P. L., XXXIX, cols. 2047 ff.). The Cross is almost invariably present in Last Judgment representations, although not always given the central importance it receives in the tabernacle, an emphasis to be attributed to special reasons which will be discussed.

The purpose of the niche is made clear by the iconographic context.

The three Virtues of this tabernacle, VERITAS, IVDICIUM, IVSTITIA, along with MISERICORDIA, which appears in other works of the group, are those most frequently mentioned together in the Bible as attributes of God (e.g., Ps. lxxxviii, 15; Ps. cxviii, 137, 138; Eccius. xviii, 29; Jer. iv, 2). They do not correspond to any pagan or later theological grouping. But because still other biblical passages, in which VERITAS and IVSTITIA were coupled (e.g., Ps. lxxxiv, 11, 12), were more often pictorialized, IVDICIUM seems rarely to have been portrayed. Its use in this group of reliquaries may be explained by a reversion to textual precedent and by the fact that, in this particular case, IVSTITIA was to be used in a special role elsewhere.

If the entire representation is inspired by Matthew xxiv, 29-31, as seems likely, this would be the resurrection of the elect only (see note 25), but it is possible that the idea of the more general resurrection of all the dead contaminated the illustration of the passage.

24. That such a device would be possible within the period is perhaps indicated by the fact that in several church-tympanum Last Judgments, certain souls are identifiable with specific individuals. Thus, in Conques (second half of the twelfth century) most authorities recognize Charlemagne and others among the souls. On the other hand, since the labels, OMNES - OMNES, are actually in the compartment with these kneeling figures, it is possible that they are meant simply as anonymous representatives of the multitudes waiting to be judged.
25. This tabernacle seems to have been seen only once by historians, at the Liege Exhibition of 1905, and it has never been studied in detail. Other than the inscriptions mentioned, the word MVNDI is inscribed vertically at the side of the angel in the right shutter; the first word at the side of the other angel is undecipherable, but the traces of letters still visible point to SALVATOR or REDEMPTOR. Most of the Last Judgment elements in the tabernacle would seem to be explained by Matthew xxiv, 29-31, and would seem, therefore, to represent a first resurrection of saints only — a fact significant for our interpretation of the purpose of such tabernacles (cf. *post*). This representation, although unusual, is based upon plentiful textual sources. The conception of a first calling up of the Just before the resurrection of all appears in the New Testament and is rife in early theological writings, but the time at which the event was to occur and the details vary according to the writer. In addition to the above-mentioned passage in Matthew, see Matt. xxvii, 52, 53; 1 Cor. xv, 23 ff.; Apoc. xx, 4-6; Book of Enoch, chaps. 1-36; Apoc. of Thomas (James, *op. cit.*, p. 561); Commodianus of Gaza, *Instructiones: Carmen Apologeticum* (A. Springer, in *Rep. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, VII, 1884, p. 376). For a short but revealing consideration of these various resurrections, see W. Paeseler, "Die römische Weltgerichtstafel im Vatikan," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliothek Hertziana*, II, Leipzig, 1938, p. 340.
26. Even though other usual distinguishing marks are absent, the foliage motif of the incised design makes it possible that this cross is to be identified with the *xylon zoopoion*, life-giving wood, or Tree of Everlasting Life, which was placed in Paradise in parallel to the Tree of Life on earth. Although chiefly exploited in the East, it was not unknown in the West (L. von Sybel, "Xylon Zoes," *Zeitschrift f. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1919, pp. 85-91).
27. Paeseler calls attention to an Evangelary of ca. 750 A.D. in the St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek (cod. 51), with a half-length Christ between two trumpeting angels (G. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. in 8, Berlin, 1921-24, I, fig. 295) and says it is not a Last Judgment (Paeseler, *op. cit.*, p. 323, note 31). However, in view of the other motifs present in the tabernacle, the allusion to the awakening of the dead is unmistakable. It is, moreover, possible that the Just and the Unjust are portrayed on the exterior

of the shutters, where, when these are closed, they would furnish a *raison d'être* for the trumpeting angels in the apex. Indeed, it seems possible that several of these tabernacles have figurations on the outer surfaces of their shutters, as do other examples known (e.g., another reliquary of the True Cross in the Cinquantenaire, Brussels [Destrée & Kymeuken, *op. cit.*, I, unpagged], where Sts. Dismas and John the Baptist are to be seen on the exterior, below two half-length angels). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to examine our group at first hand, and the literature is silent on this score. Nevertheless, this latter fact need not be taken as indication that figurations are not present, since none of these works has been treated exhaustively from the iconographic standpoint.

28. This association of Cross and Resurrection is an allusion to the role of the former as the specific instrument of man's redemption and ultimate salvation. It occurs frequently in Carolingian ivory Crucifixion scenes (see A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen, etc.*, I, Nos. 41, 44, 83, 85, 86, 87 and 89), and in countless manuscripts of the Ottonian period. The Resurrection may be expressed either symbolically by the Three Maries at the Tomb, as in this reliquary, or, more circumstantially, by the depiction of the dead actually rising from tombs. The latter mode survives into the fourteenth century in Italy, e.g., in a golden tabernacle in S. Stefano, Montana, near Pola (Ministero dell'educazione nazionale, *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia, V, Prov. di Pola*, Rome, 1936, fig. on p. 114). It may be seen as late as the second half of the century in a painted panel of the Riminese school in the Wedells Collection, Hamburg (Rompell photograph).
29. See note 25. The choice of the resurrection of saints only in this tabernacle may be taken to allude to the fact that the commissioners consider themselves without question among the Just.
30. Guglielmus Durandus explains them so, for example, and cites Matthew v, 15 and vi, 22 for his interpretation (*Rationale divinarum officiorum*, Chap. 9., De Altare).
31. Formerly on the Italian market. Published here by kind permission of Dr. Offner.
32. This manner of utilizing Judgment motifs is closely related to a much more widely used pinnacle decoration, in which the figure of Christ in the central pinnacle is represented in the act of blessing, while thurifer angels or angels with the insignia of their rank in the celestial hierarchy, saints (favored in Siena), or Prophets (almost invariable in Florence) are in the other pinnacles. It occurs for the first time in Vigoroso da Siena's low dossal in the Gallery of Perugia (No. 32), dated 1283 (Van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, I, 1923, fig. 213). Although the use of half-length figures as subsidiary elements is too general to permit the presumption of any single source for it, evi-

dence again points to the North, for a half-length Saviour blessing is found for the first time on an altarpiece in a semicircular projection over the center of the metal low dossal from St. Castor, Coblenz, now in the Cluny Museum, Paris (von Falke, *op. cit.*, pl. 93). And this work is, significantly enough, of the same Mosan region and of approximately the same period as the reliquaries with which we have been dealing. Finally, it may be pointed out that half-length angels of the sort are common in spandrels wherever arcades appear on monuments, from at least the twelfth century onward. Thus, it may be either that the earlier presence in Siena of this general mode conditioned the easy acceptance of the special Judgment variant of it or that this variant was imported along with the general mode at an early but unspecifiable date.

33. P. Hendy, *Catalogue of the exhibited paintings and drawings. The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, Boston, 1931, pp. 337-338, figs. pp. 339, 340, 341.
34. In all other representations known to me, it is Christ's right hand that accepts, his left that rejects, the Blessed and Damned, when present, being on his right and left respectively. This is in accordance with the description already present in Matthew xxv, 33. The reasons for the transference in this case are not to be determined, but it should not too lightly be ascribed to inadvertence or incomprehension.
35. C. Brandi, *Catalogo della regia pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, p. 209, No. 595. It is conceivable that this altarpiece was a triptych rather than a pentaptych, in which case, if we reason from analogy, the accompanying angels are likely to have been trumpeters.
36. Of a third example, which was Ducciesque, still less remains: only two half-length angels bearing instruments of the Passion, one in the possession of Miss Helen C. Frick, New York, the other in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (photographs in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York). These are certainly fragments of altarpiece pinnacles. They are themselves conceivably earlier in date than either of the other examples, and they may, moreover, point to the original existence of a still earlier prototype by Duccio himself. However, we can know nothing of the iconography of these lost works.
37. These symmetrical gestures are the rule in twelfth- and thirteenth-century tympana in spite of the presence of the Just and Unjust. According to Male, this iconography goes back to Honorius Augustodunensis, who said that Christ would appear in the Judgment as he appeared on the Cross (E. Male, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, p. 408; cf. *post*).
38. Since such panels, especially in lay hands, were largely beyond the control of the official Church (however much the Church may have influenced the broader aspects of iconography),

canonical works are unanimously silent on their specific score, nor do other religious or secular writings, in which they are here and there summarily mentioned, give much insight into the purposes they were intended to fill. The art of private panels differs in this respect from monumental church-art, about which we are well informed from the early Christian Fathers down to such works dealing specifically with its functions and symbolism as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Maius* (Pt. II, *Speculum doctrinale*) and Guglielmus Durandus' *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (Prologue, 6-12 and Book I, Chap. III). Modern writers, too, have concerned themselves with these aspects of monumental art (see F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, 2 vols., Freiburg i. B., 1896-1908, Vol. I, Book III, pp. 65-81; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile, etc.*, Paris, 1916, pp. 1-3; 15-30; C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, 3rd ed., Paderborn, 1922, pp. 247-257, with bibliography). Their silence on the art of private panels might be interpreted to mean that they identified the thought behind it with that behind the art that was lavished upon the walls of churches, upon their altars, pulpits, choir screens and other furniture. And yet it is obvious that the circumstances leading to the creation of the former were most often very different from those leading to the creation of the latter. The latter was essentially a public art meant to be observed by people of various conditions and education. It was, broadly speaking, an art by the Church for the people (and for God) and all the motives proper to the relations of the Church with the populace may be ascribed to it. They were principally mnemonic, to recall doctrine to those who knew it, didactic, to teach doctrine to those who did not, and paraenetic, to exhort all to the good life and the contemplation of higher things. For the apotropaic character of some public art in Early Christian times see note 40. On the other hand, the art of devotional panels was essentially a private art, meant to be observed only by the owner-devotee. It was, broadly speaking, an art by the individual for the individual and his God, and only those motives logically imputable to such a context may be ascribed to it. It is not possible to think of it as didactic, nor could it be exhortatory to the individual in most cases. It may have been mnemonic to some extent, and it could possibly be paraenetic in the sense of leading the thoughts of the devotee to subjects of meditation prescribed. That it was often strongly apotropaic is a thesis of this paper. The only treatment of the purpose of private panels in Italy that has come to my attention is a very short and informal article by P. Schubring, "Ein Sieneser Totenbild," *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag v. Paul Clemen*, Düsseldorf, 1926, pp. 339-344.

39. A history of private piety, which would facilitate an understanding of the particular role such a work as our tabernacle may have filled in it, remains to be written. Meanwhile, the best source of information, despite the Lutheran preoccupations of its author, is F. Heiler's *Das Gebet, eine religionsgeschichtliche u. religionspsychologische Untersuchung*, 3rd ed., Munich, 1921 (unsatisfactory English edition, London, Oxford University Press, 1932). The articles on Prayer and Devotions in the many Catholic encyclopedic works are also valuable. For historical as distinguished from analytical matter, see Heiler, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-247. For the prayers themselves, see histories of the breviary, the devotional book *par excellence* of the clergy and religious, e.g., S. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, Freiburg i. B., 1895 (the classical work), and those of private prayerbooks, e.g., V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, 3 vols., 1927, Introduction; S. Beissel, "Zur Geschichte der Gebetbücher," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXVII, 1909; E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, Oxford, 1918, Chap. IX.

But much of the ultimate matter of private devotions was not, by its nature, reducible to literary expression, and other matter, though written, has been lost. As a result, the difficulties of historical study are great, and there are, in addition, particular problems in the devotions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They lie in the fact that in the North, under the influence of Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux and the German nuns, such as Mechthild of Magdeburg and Gertrude of Helfta, and in Italy, under the influence of St. Francis, Thomas of Celano and St. Bonaventura, the last strongly affected by St. Bernard, an intensified mysticism was spreading -- a mysticism which not only modified the accrued formulae of prayer and introduced new ones but also increasingly emphasized the more mystical aspects of private piety, which lay in meditation and of which the hoped-for culmination was contemplation of and ecstatic union with God. The distinctions to be drawn between the older piety, which he calls the "prophetic," and the newer, the "mystic," are well elucidated by Heiler, *passim*. The difficulty lies in estimating the extent to which these adventitious practices, that in the course of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth were so manifestly to assume predominate importance, penetrated to the classes of people who owned devotional panels in the thirteenth and early fourteenth -- from internal and external evidence, many classes of laymen, clerics and religious. But it seems reasonable to suppose that the further we descended the scale of erudition the more tenuous should we find the manifestations of mysticism, the more tenacious the adherence to prayerful converse with God. The very complexion of the devotional books which continued in use shows the maintenance of strong interest in the Psalms, the Pater Noster, the Litanies -- all ex-

pressions of the older piety and strongly supplicatory. The Hours themselves were made up to a great extent of passages from the Psalms and popular hymns, and the Masses for the Dead, which inevitably accompanied them, were directly supplicatory of salvation for the souls of the dead. Moreover, not only do such works as Thomas of Celano's Lives of St. Francis and St. Bonaventura's Life of the same saint reveal an awareness of the distinction between prayer, in the narrow sense of converse with God, and meditation, and a continuance of both, purportedly in St. Francis himself, but also the latter's theological works use continually the phrase *oratio et meditatio*.

In modern practice, the phrase *private devotions* is employed to cover both these aspects of private piety, and this has led to a certain confusion concerning the pictures used in them. The devotional pictures proper to the older piety continued to be, as they always had been, the *icon*, in the sense of an image and applied normally only to representations of aspects of the Godhead, the Virgin or a saint, and the *narrative scene*. It was the spread of mysticism, with a concomitant emphasis on special devotions toward particular aspects of the Divinity or the divine mysteries, which led to the development of a third species of devotional picture, the "*Andachtsbild*," treated of by E. Panofsky in his "*Imago Pietatis*" (*Festschrift f. M. J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 261-308). Unfortunately, this term is usually translated as "devotional picture," but a devotional picture in this limited, empathic sense is to be clearly distinguished from a devotional picture in the generic sense, of which it is only one species. In the generic sense, a devotional picture is any picture appearing on any panel used in private piety, whether icon, scene or *Andachtsbild*. Finally, it must be recognized that the very personal character of private devotions and their use of the picture make a rigid systematization of the relations between prayers and pictures impossible. Nevertheless, the terms *icon* and *scene* (and *a fortiori Andachtsbild*) do not refer only to objective distinctions in the picture but imply a difference at least of *intended* function. The icon, which was the representation to the devotee of the Deity or his agents, was intended to serve primarily as the object of all sorts of prayer (in an orthodox manner), while the scene, which was an illustration or narration of doctrine, must have served, in *private* art, first as a reminder of, later more especially as an aid to meditation on, doctrine. But it is obvious that the icon, too, might serve this latter purpose. And conversely, although it is difficult to estimate the extent to which prayers might be offered up before a scene, certain so-called scenes at times explicitly assume the functions and location of the icon, and prayers addressed to the chief actors in them are extant. The scenes so used vary from period to period and from place to place, but in general

those most commonly found in the role are the Deesis, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Ascension, the Dormition and the Coronation. Similarly, the *Andachtsbild* would certainly serve as an icon in the limited sense.

It is probable that, in many cases, the commissioner of the devotional panel had no very sharply defined idea of special usage and that he merely ordered stock types without understanding too well all their implications. Moreover, no matter how restricted the original purpose in ordering a panel may have been, it is inevitable that once in the hands of the owner it would serve all devotional needs. Nevertheless, the very variety of figurations found in such panels is assurance that choices must, at one time or another, have been made certainly for good if now recondite reasons.

40. K. Michel, *Gebet u. Bild in frühchristlicher Zeit*, Leipzig, 1902. For a summary account, consult also O. Wulff, *Altchristliche u. Byzantinische Kunst*, pp. 68-72. It is hardly necessary to point out that the beliefs and practices of the Early Christian period were rooted in antique modes. The art Michel dealt with was largely that of the catacombs, but he stated in his conclusions that the relationships he had traced might, in subsequent periods, be seen most clearly in small objects (*Klein Kunst*), such as ampullae, etc.
41. From Byzantium, the region which influenced both Italy and transalpine Europe in so many respects, come two links in the chain of evidence. Certain panels and tabernacles in ivory have supplicatory, at times intercessory, prayers actually inscribed on them. Especially revealing are: Chambéry, Cathedral treasury, ivory diptych, possibly of the twelfth century (A. Goldschmidt, *Byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, No. 222a-d); Rome, Palazzo Venezia, ivory tabernacle center-panel, mid-tenth century (*ibid.*, No. 31); with similar ones in Dresden and Vienna (*ibid.*, Nos. 44, 45). In many cases the inscriptions are apotropaic, differing little from those found on charms and amulets and thus approaching magic formulae. In addition, the particular combination of pictorial elements on a certain group of Byzantine tabernacles in ivory permits linking them directly with well-known prayers of supplication. Their center panels contain a Deesis, while their shutters display, at times on both surfaces, rows of full-length saints. A close correspondence between these elements and Eastern litanies of the saints, which, be it recalled, are essentially supplicatory and in which the same saints, as well as the Deesis, are specifically and repeatedly appealed to, has been pointed out (Mme. C. Osieczkowska, "La mosaïque de la Porte Royale à Ste. Sophie de Constantinople et la Litanie de Tous les Saints," *Byzantion*, IX, 1934, 41-83; E. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, 56-81).

42. Examples of the former type are frequent in the Psalms. I cite only one as an explanation: "Save me, O God, by thy name; and *judge me in thy strength*. O God, hear my prayer; give ear to the word of my mouth (Ps. 111, 3, 4)." The example is not ideal; there is subtle flattery here. On the matter of prayer with persuasion, see Heiler, *op. cit.*, pp. 372 ff., who lists eleven different persuasive devices. Prayers of this type are not common in the Psalms but become prevalent during the second and third centuries in apocryphal and patristic writings. The type has been discussed by Michel, *op. cit.*, Chap. I, and he gives examples from the pseudo-Cyprianic texts. An example I take from the Liturgy of Mark (before 200 A.D.) is as follows: "O mightiest King, co-eternal with the Father, who by thy might hast *vanquished hell and trodden death under foot*, who hast bound the strong man, and by the miraculous power and enlightening radiance of Thy unspeakable Godhead, *hast raised Adam from the tomb*, send forth Thy invisible right hand, which is full of blessing and bless us all... *Unite us to the all-blessed assembly that is well-pleasing unto Thee*." Here in a plea for salvation is found ample explanation for the choice of a representation of the Descent into Limbo. Prayers similarly couched continue through the ages and are to be found in the modern breviary and missal.
43. The literature on image cults and their abuse is limitless. For a convenient account with ample citation of sources, see V. Grumel, "Images, culte des images," *Dict. de Théologie Catholique*, VII, pt. 1, pp. 766-843.
44. As Henry Osborn Taylor has admirably epitomized the matter: "The mind seeking to express the transcendental avails itself of symbols. All religions have teemed with them, in the primitive phases scarcely differentiating symbol and fact; then a difference becomes evident to clear-minded men, while perhaps at the same time other men are elaborately maintaining that *the symbol magically is, or brings to pass, that which it represents*. Such obscuring mysticism existed...everywhere...through the times of the Christian Church Fathers and the entire Middle Ages." (*The Mediaeval Mind*, 4th ed., 2 vols., London, 1938, II, p. 68). Early instances of the transference of the power of prayer to pictures are clearly demonstrated by Michel, *op. cit.*, *passim*. He shows that the exorcistic intent of many Early Christian prayers was carried over to the pictures of the period, whether in the catacombs or on small objects carried about the person as amulets. Moreover, such beliefs assuredly had pagan precedents.
45. There might at first sight seem to be some doubt that the Northern reliquaries were indeed privately owned and that the comparisons made are proper. It might seem that such elaborate and costly works containing relics ostensibly rare might rather have been used in

public worship. However, the weight of evidence is in favor of the former alternative. Their small size in general argues for it and there is, moreover, the possibility that, in the case of the d'Arenberg tabernacle (*fig. 8*), the figures kneeling at the foot of Divine Justice may, as has been suggested, be the commissioners or people whose souls were to be prayed for. In addition, the niches for the relics in the two Petit-Palais reliquaries and the applique cross of the Cinquantenaire retable-reliquary are in the shape of archiepiscopal crosses, an indication that they may have been owned by archbishops (*figs. 8, 12*). The offering of good deeds upon an altar, as in the Petit-Palais example, is certainly to be connected with private accomplishment. Finally, we know that reliquaries in general were commonly used in private cult (Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 3), and what we know of the vast multitudes of fragments of the True Cross which were distributed throughout Europe indicates that they were common enough to come into the hands of wealthy individuals. We have, as a matter of fact, actual records of reliquaries in private inventories of the period. Several examples are cited by Braun (*op. cit.*, p. 45), all taken from Dehaisnes, *Documents concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, etc.*, Brussels, 1886. One, though considerably later, may be quoted, for it obviously refers to a tabernacle-reliquary of the very type we have been considering. It is from the inventory of the possessions of Robert de Bethune, of 1322: "...un autre grant tabliel de bos couvert de feuille d'argent à deux huis cloans et y a de la vraie croix et plusieurs autres reliques..."

46. For a good account of the orthodox interpretation of relics and relic cults, see Braun, *op. cit.*, Chap. I, *passim*, and for some of the aberrations, J. A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, Boston, 1932, Chap. IX.
47. Good accounts of the entire question of the *Inventio Crucis*, as well as of the fragments spread over Europe, are to be found in F. Martin, *Reliques de la Passion*, Paris, 1897, Chap. I, and in J. Straubinger, *Die Kreuzauffindungslegende*, Paderborn, 1912. Dispersion of the Cross began in the fourth century and continued without interruption until the eleventh. Interest in fragments became particularly active during the period of the Crusades, but it would be a naïf error to suppose that the spate of relics caused interest in the Cross; rather, it was intensified interest in salvation through the Cross which produced the flood of relics. The reliquaries, therefore, are to be looked upon not simply as expedient containers for the fragments as they came to hand but as elemental expressions of the religiosity of the period.

The Cross became a public symbol in the fourth century, and almost all the early theologians wrote and preached about it. Definite expression concerning its active power is to

be found in many writers, such as S. Ignatius of Antioch (died 107), *Epist. ad Ephes.*, II, 10, where Hone (ed. 1820, p. 165) translates: "...drawn up on high by the Cross of Christ, as by an engine" (1). Among the many hymns about the Cross, I quote from one close to the period of the Mosan reliquaries, attributed to Adam of St. Victor (died 1173): "Haec (the Cross) est scala peccatorum / Per quam Christus, rex caelorum / Ad se traxit omnia" (Blume & Bannister, *Thes. Hymn. Pros.*, II, No. 120); and from another; "Salve, lignum sanctae crucis, / Salve signum summi ducis, / Qui fedeles introducis / Ad caelestam patriam" (*ibid.*, No. 122); or again: "...huius ligni per virtutem / Nos perducit ad salutem" (*ibid.*, No. 125); and finally; "Ave scala peccatorum / Quam ascendit rex caelorum. / Ut ad choros angelorum / Homo sic ascenderet" (*ibid.*, No. 128).

48. Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff. From the ninth century onward, the word *phylacterium* is repeatedly applied to larger reliquaries, until in the thirteenth, the original meaning seems to have been forgotten and it regularly designates any reliquary at all. Containers for Cross fragments might, more specifically, be termed *cruces* or *cruciculae*, from their usual shape. Although the word *theca* occurs in the West at an early date, the Italian composite *stauroteca* (from the Greek), now generally used, does not, according to Braun, appear until the sixteenth century. For the use of these various terms consult the truly admirable index in Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. u. 12. Jhs.*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1938.
49. Fragments of these other instruments were also at times available, and there is evidence of a similar attitude toward them. For example, the Crown of Thorns is so treated in mediæval hymns (see Blume & Bannister, *Thes. Hymn. Pros.*, II, Nos. 133-41).
50. See E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, pp. 408 ff.; the same, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1925, pp. 106 ff.; Panofsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 286 ff. The growth of cults of the wounds as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must go a long way toward explaining the preference for the Christ who displays them, in the North and in Italy of the period, in public as well as in private art (as in the church-tympanum Judgments, where he is thus represented almost invariably).
51. There exist in the North no painted tabernacles in the thirteenth or fourteenth century which may be related to the metal ones. However, Last Judgment representations are found on numerous small ivory tabernacles and diptychs (R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, 3 vols., Paris, 1924, pls. XIV, XVII, XX, XLIII, LXI, LXII, LXIX, LXXX, XCIII, CXXXI and CXXXII), several of which show the persistence of similar ideas. One, of the late thirteenth century, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Koechlin, pl. XVII). The

- scenes are in three registers, the Last Judgment with a full-length Christ enthroned, wounds bared, and the Madonna and St. John at either side as intercessors, trumpeting angels, angels carrying instruments of the Passion and the Blessed and Damned in the topmost, the Crucifixion in the middle, and the Madonna and Child enthroned, with thurifers and adoring Magi in the lowest. At the feet of the Madonna kneels a bishop, definite indication that this was his private devotional tabernacle. Another in the Liverpool Museum (Koechlin, pl. XX), of similar period, shows two standing figures which are probably the commissioners or beneficiaries of prayers, one at either side of the Crucifixion, in the middle register.
52. In the course of the thirteenth century in Italy, private devotions, which had always been the portion of the clergy and religious, seem to have increased prodigiously among the laity, due largely to the influence of the monastic orders, particularly the Franciscans. We have good evidence to this effect in the development of both of the chief accessories in those devotions -- prayerbooks and pictures on panels. There seems to have been a great increase in the production of the latter toward the end of the century and during most of the fourteenth, which was almost certainly a manifestation of the ascendancy of Franciscanism, and a decline in production at the end of this latter century seems to have accompanied the passing of the apogee of Franciscan power. In any case, whatever reservations be made concerning the indication of original incidence to be gleaned from survivals, the majority of the devotional panels that have come down to us do indeed show Franciscan influence, usually in the depiction of the Stigmatization or one or more Franciscan saints. Moreover, it is probable that the resort to wood and paint, in place of the ivory and precious metals of previous periods, may in itself bespeak a greatly increased demand for small panels for private use as well as Franciscan exhortations against ostentation.
53. See R. C. Petry, "Medieval Eschatology and St. Francis," *Church History*, IX, 1940, pp. 54-69. Convenient English translations of the Franciscan works mentioned here are: Father Robinson, *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi*, Philadelphia, 1906 (from the Quaracchi *Opuscula*, 1904); A. G. F. Howell, *Thomas of Celano's Lives of St. Francis of Assisi*, New York, 1908 (from the d'Alençon edition, 1906); Miss E. G. Salter, *St. Bonaventura's Life of St. Francis*, Temple Classics, 2nd ed., London, 1932 (from the Quaracchi edition, 1898).
54. Testament, IV; I Cel. 27; II Cel. 146, 155, 158; Bon., *Life*, VIII, 3; and Bon., *Determinationes questionum circa Regulam F. P. Minorum*, Quaracchi ed., I. See also P. Sabatier, *Études inédites sur S. François d'Assise*, Paris, 1932, pp. 234, 240-41.
55. The many passages in the Bible lying at the base of Franciscan eschatology are cited by Petry, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

56. See especially II Cel. 71, but also I Reg. 1, I Cel. 22, 29, 76, 93, 148, 200 and Bon., *Life*, III, 10. See also I Reg. 23; II Cel. 70, 146, Bon., *Life*, VII, 8, as well as P. Sabatier, *Vie de St. François d'Assise*, 8th ed., Paris, 1931, pp. xlvii, xlix and *Études inédites*, pp. 232-33. These ideas are more simply explicit in another thirteenth-century writing about St. Francis, the *Speculum Perfectionis*, cap. XXVI.
57. It was specifically invoked in the First Rule and was, moreover, prefigured in almost every Psalm passage chosen for the Office of the Passion, usually attributed to St. Francis (see I Reg. 23; Sabatier, *Études inédites*, pp. 288-89). The fact that the *Dies Irae* was written in thirteenth-century Italy is also significant for this trend in Franciscan thought.
58. I Cel. 90; II Cel. 10, 203.
59. This thought is but one in the likening of St. Francis to Christ, the likening of his works to those of Christ, which was labored by Franciscan writers. See I Cel. 36, 43, 45, 95, 112, 114, 115, 119, 121; II Cel. 109, 211, 219; Bon., *Life*, IV, 9; X, 4; XIII, 2, 3, 5, 10; XIV, 1, 4; XV, 1; *Miracles*, I, 1; X, 7, 8, 9.
60. Edition by P. Sabatier, Paris, 1902, who discusses author and date. First edition of the *Floretum*, Vicenza, 1476. The Italian work is a free and amplified version of an unknown Latin original, the so-called *Actus S. Francisci*.
61. See also II Cel. 203, Chap. CLIV, headed, "Of his devotion to the Cross, and of a certain hidden mystery" (*sacramentum*).
62. From the Everyman's Library translation, *The little flowers of St. Francis and the Life of St. Francis, with the Mirror of Perfection*, London & New York, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 115.
63. In sending out his eight disciples, St. Francis, according to Celano, tells them, "an Eternal Kingdom is preparing for us" (I Cel. 29).
64. See also I Cel. 50, 111, 116.
65. The motif may be taken over unchanged, or the position of the Child may be varied, but the essentials of kneeler and blessing gesture remain. Examples in altarpieces are: 1) Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Collection, No. 91, center panel, Pietro Lorenzetti; 2) New York, Philip Lehman Collection, No. 32, triptych (reframed), attributed to Lippo Vanni; 3) Chioggia, S. Martino, ca. 1349; 4) Venice, Ca' d'Oro, attributed to Paolo Veneziano; 5) Arbe, Duomo; 6) Baltimore, Walters Gallery, No. 635, Caterino Veneziano; 7) Faenza, Pinacoteca, low dossal, Romagnole, fourteenth century. An example in a votive panel is that by Vitale da Bologna in the Vatican (Van Marle, IV, fig. 401), and in a votive fresco, that in the Gubbio Palazzo Pubblico, by Guidoccio Palmerucci (Van Marle, V, fig. 52). Examples in devotional books are: New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 730, French Psalter and Offices of

the Virgin, second half of the thirteenth century with added Italian miniatures of the early fourteenth, where it is found twice among these Italian additions, on folio 17 v., at the beginning of the book, and again on folio 214, at the head of the Matins Office. It occurs in a *Liber Precum* in Vienna (Cod. 1921, theol. C.946), done between 1343 and 1382 for Johanna I of Naples, illuminated partly by a Tuscan artist. On folio 185 v., the Queen herself is depicted kneeling before the Madonna and Child, while on folio 240 v., she kneels before the enthroned figure of Christ, recommended by the Madonna. The first representation is at the head of the Matins, the second of the Vespers, Office (H. J. Hermann, *Die italienischen MSS des dugento u. trecento*, Vol. IV of the *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten MSS in Oesterreich*, Leipzig, III, pls. XCVIII, 3 and CIII, 4).

66. See H. D. Gronau, *Andrea Orcagna u. Nardo di Cione*, Berlin, 1937, pp. 68-72; Exkurs, "Zur Darstellung der von Heiligen empfohlenen Stifter auf italienischen Grabmalern des späten Mittelalters." Gronau gives but a fragmentary list of the occurrences.
67. Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. Offner. In the Ashburnham Collection, London. Another example of somewhat similar symbolism is found on the tomb of Savarino Aliprandi (1319) in S. Marco, Milan, in which the defunct is recommended to the Enthroned Christ by the Virgin and saints, while John the Baptist stands at the opposite side (F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Milano*, Bergamo, 1906, I, p. 67).
68. Among other paintings which express seemingly similar ideas, the following may be mentioned: the Badia of Montepiano contains an early fourteenth-century fresco in which St. Francis, recommending a kneeling nun to the Madonna and Child of the "Adoration" motif, holds prominently forward in his right hand a large crucifix; in an early fifteenth-century fresco in the Cappella della Maddalena, Manfredonia, it is the Madonna of the same motif who holds up to the supplicant and his recommender an oversize crucifix (A. Beltramelli, *Il Gargano*, Bergamo, 1907, p. 49).
69. H. Kehr, *Die heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur u. Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908, II, p. 34.
70. For doctrinal writings on the Adoration, see Kehr, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 14 ff. Modern commentary is to be found in H. Detzel, *Christliche Ikonographie*, 2 vols., Freiburg i. B., 1894-96, I, p. 205; Kehr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 131; A. N. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, trans. in 2 vols., London, 1886, II, p. 404. The Three Magi or Kings were at times given various more specific interpretations, as for example, the three races of man (sic), the three parts of the earth (sic), etc., but a similar symbolic significance is most often given their journey, adoration and oblation.

71. Thus, in the fifth-century mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, Christ is explicitly represented as King of Heaven, the presence of the four angels pointing this fact. A similar indication of locus is given in the sixth-century mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Frequently in Italy, Mary is crowned: Piacenza, Parma, Forlì, and especially in Fano, Episcopal Palace, relief of the beginning of the twelfth century (Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 133), Arezzo, Pieve, relief in interior, of 1050 (G. Franciosi, *Arezzo, Bergamo*, 1909, p. 30), and the Niccolò Pisano pulpit in Siena, of 1265-69. An indication of heavenly locus is given the abstracted motif in the Baltimore altarpiece by flowers under the Madonna, and by the same means in Morgan Ms. 730, fol. 17 v., already referred to (note 65), where, in addition, the Madonna and Child are actually placed in a symbolic heaven.
72. *De V. Festivibus, De Fest. IV. 2.*
73. The gifts of the magi were given various symbolic meanings; relevant to our context is Gregory the Great, *Homil. in Evang. I, Homil. X...in die Epiph.* (Migne, *P. L.* LXXVI, cols. 1110-1114), who says that gold is wisdom, incense prayer, and myrrh the conquering of the flesh (see Kehrer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 35, footnote). Approximately the same interpretation is repeated later by the Englishman Bede (Migne, *P. L.*, XVII, cols. 12-15). And the precise parallel of ideas in a plea for salvation is found, for example, in the *Missale Gothicum*, dating from the eighth century but still in use considerably later; "...ut, sicut magi stella prae-eunte Dominum Jesum Christum invenerunt, et optata consecuti sunt gaudia, atque apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera aurum, tus et myrram, ita nos famuli sui, eiusdem salvatoris nostri auxilio praemoniti, terram promissionis mereamur ingredi, ut gaudeamus nos aeterna regni caelestis possessione ditari, - Deus, illuminatur omnium gentium...illud lumen splendidum infunde cordibus nostris quod trium magorum mentibus aspirasti, - ut sicut magis ad ostensionem salutaris viae refulsit stella, ita nostris mentibus per gratiam tui muneris lumen infundas" (J. Mabillon, *De liturgia gallicana*, Paris, 1729, p. 207).
74. *De V. Fest., De Fest. IV, 4.* See also Bonaventura, *Lignum vitae, De mysterio originis, Iesus magis monstratus*. Another detail which may link the Madonna and Child motif in the Oxford tabernacle with the Adoration of the Magi is rendered uncertain by the poor state of the panel. At the footstool near the kneeling figure are two light spots which seem to have the shape of a bared, projecting foot, the Madonna's, and a small dragon or monster (fig. 2). It is possible that these are nothing but damages in the paint, and the disproportionate smallness of the "foot," as well as the fact that no other Madonna with foot bared has been discovered, argue for this. But a dragon under the foot of the Madonna of the Adora-

tion is a common iconographical detail (A. K. Porter, "Spain or Toulouse? and other questions," *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1924/5, p. 11 and notes 1 and 2). A dragon occurs thus, for example, in the Adoration relief in the interior of the Pieve of Arezzo, of 1050 (see note 71). Another reason for accepting the presence of the dragon is the fact that it is common under the feet of Madonnas enthroned (not part of an Adoration) in the transalpine regions of the twelfth and thirteenth century, whence the Northern group of tabernacles stems, and this fact, considered in connection with the other Northern aspects of the Sienese tabernacle in Oxford, prohibits dismissing the possibility too lightly. For examples, see three Madonnas of Mosan facture, one in St. Jean, Liege, of the early thirteenth century (R. Hamann, "Die Salzwedler Madonna," *Narburger Jahrbuch f. Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1926, pp. 77-144, pl. XXXIb), another from the Blumenthal Collection, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*ibid.*, pl. XXXIIb), and a third on the Marienschrein in the Cathedral of Aachen, of before 1238 (*ibid.*, pl. XXXIIId). Examples in painting are in a fourteenth-century English Psalter from Amesbury Abbey (Oxford, All Souls, Ms. 6, fol. 4), and in Italy, in a Giottesque panel in the Church of Veneri (Pescia), described by C. Stiavelli, *L'arte in Valdinievole*, Pescia, 1905, p. 88. The appropriateness of the devil underfoot in a "salvation" tabernacle needs no particular demonstration.

75. Kehr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 221, cites many such occurrences in France, Spain and Germany, and two in Italy: Messina, Cathedral, tomb of Archbishop Guidotto de' Tabiati (died 1333), by Goro di Gregorio (A. Venturi, *Storia*, IV, fig. 269); Milan, S. Eustorgio, tomb of Gaspare Visconti, of 1427 (*ibid.*, fig. 453). Kehr states that the defunct is thought of as a King offering gifts, and in several German examples he is shown with the offering, such as a chalice, etc.
76. L. M. Ciaccio, "Gli affreschi di S. M. di Vezzolano," *L'Arte*, XII, 1910, pp. 335-48. The four members of the family portrayed are all mentioned in an inscription now illegible (reported by A. Bosio, *Storia dell'antico santuario di N. S. di Vezzolano*, Turin, 1872, p. 35), which does not, however, distinguish between the living and the dead. It is possible that all of them were deceased. Another example of this merging of the Adoration of the Magi and the kneeling defunct, this time recommended by saints, is found on a tomb in S. Marco, Milan (Malaguzzi-Valeri, *op. cit.*, I, p. 72).
77. This type of icon takes up, even at this early date, the empathic summons of the devotional picture in the narrow sense of the term (*Andachtsbild*), since both the introduction of the devotee figure and the complete humanization of the attitude of the Child toward it -- he has no longer the forbidding majesty of the older images but is brought into intimate re-

lation with the kneeling figure — aid the actual devotee in projecting his consciousness into the content world of the picture.

78. Matt. xxi, 13; Luke ii, 37, v, 33, etc.
79. Heiler. *op. cit.*, pp. 478 ff.
80. Such explanations cannot, in the absence of external evidence, be demonstrated beyond a doubt, but they recommend themselves in default of alternatives of equal cogency. Both of these concepts, the picture of prayer perpetualizing prayer and having the power of prayer, underly the donor figures in public works as well, and it is even more certain that they explain the kneeling figures of the defunct in tomb decorations, where the important additional evidence of saints portrayed in the act of interceding cannot have any significance other than that of an attempt to induce intercession by the picturing of it. In fact, it is certain that similar concepts underly representations of individuals, dead or alive, wherever they occur in art in the act of persuading a deity, either by sacrifice or by prayer. They are, in this connection, necessary, for example, in antique art to explain the recurrence of sacrificial scenes. It is, on the other hand, true that different periods may have been more or less aware of these implications -- in some of them such portrayals may simply represent the repetition of venerably old practices -- but in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy, they would most certainly carry their full significance.
81. See F. Schevill, *Siena, the story of a medieval commune*, New York, 1909, pp. 96 ff. and full bibliography at end of the volume. Schevill informs us that there were six annual fairs in the twelfth century, so that the trading was almost uninterrupted. Italians were prominent there, the earliest mention of them dating from 1216, however. From the second half of the thirteenth century onward there are extant letters of Sienese merchants recording various transactions. Schevill interprets this to mean that the great fortunes of Siena, the Salimbeni, Tolomei, Buonsignori, Malavoli and Cacciaconti, as well as many others, were made in this trade and were fed from the French taproot. Most of the Italian traffic was in money, purchases being certainly made with the profits.
82. See G. G. Coulton, *Two Saints, St. Bernard and St. Francis*, Cambridge (England), 1932.
83. St. Francis had constituted the virgin the Advocate of the Order, according to Celano, who adds a typical prayer: "O Advocate of the poor, fulfill thou to us the office of Protectress until the time foreordained of the Father" (II Cel. 198).
84. R. Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, Sec. III, Vol. IV, New York, 1934, pl. IX. Height of center panel: 0.495 cms.

86. By a similar emphasis of these two scenes, two other works may possibly, though less obviously in their other details, be related to the group of "salvation" panels. The first is a Daddesque tabernacle formerly in the possession of Frau v. Weegmann, Cologne (Offner, *op. cit.*, Sec. III, Vol. IV, add. pl. VII), while the other is a Sienese triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (No. 34), to judge from its diminutive size also for private use (G. v. Terey, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Museums f. bildende Künste in Budapest. Beschreibender Katalog*, Berlin, 1926, p. 24).
87. For example, Kiev, S. Sophia, mosaic of the triumphal arch, ca. 1037-50. This mode is found later in Italy, in Parenzo (ciborium) and elsewhere.
88. Thus, in the Matins Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Morgan Ms. 730, fol. 218, we find in the *Lectio*: "...beate Marie auctor vite Gabrielem archanglem salutis officium misit..." St. Francis was, as Celano informs us, fervidly concerned with the Incarnation (I Cel. 84).
89. Offner, *op. cit.*, Sec. III, Vol. IV, pl. XI. Height of central panel: 0,39 cms.
90. Hitherto unpublished. Reproduction by kind permission of Dr. Richard Offner.
91. For a discussion of the relation between the Descent into Limbo and ideas of redemption, see Paeseler, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-38. To be recalled in this connection, moreover, is such a prayer as we have cited in note 42, from the Liturgy of Mark. The prayer before such a scene, in simple form, would be: "Even as thou descended into Limbo and raised up all the saints of the Old Testament, so raise thou also me unto eternal life." The prayer before the Resurrection would be of similar form. Neither the miracle scene at the left nor the angel (or sanctified soul?) in the pinnacle has been satisfactorily explained. They may both have a narrow symbolic relevance to circumstances surrounding the commissioning of the tabernacle. If the recommending saint in the central panel is properly to be identified as St. Louis of Toulouse, the miracle may have something to do with his feeding the poor.
92. C. Brandi, *Catalogo della Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, p. 65, No. 20. Height: 0,253 cms.
93. In certain Adorations, something very close to these positions used by Duccio may be found, usually in the form of an earlier stage in such a regular play on three related positions, which that master might easily have modified to his taste: Siena, Cathedral, pulpit by Niccolò Pisano, 1265-69 (G. H. & E. R. Crichton, *Nicola Pisano*, Cambridge (England), 1938, fig. 54); Arcetri (Florence), S. Leonardo, relief of chancel screen, 1170 (Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 156); Arezzo, Pieve, relief in interior, previously referred to; Rome, Vatican, Ms. gr. 1813, fol. 272, datable soon after 876 A. D. (Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 49).
94. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

94. Von Terey, *op. cit.*, p. 9, old No. 10.
95. R. Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection, New York. Paintings*, Paris, 1928, No. 37. Height: 0,56 cms. Width: 0,268 cms.
96. Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. Richard Offner.
97. It has already been said that the mere presence of the Adoration motif of the Madonna and Child with suppliant does not imply a plea for salvation. This intent has been thought probable when other scenes which reinforce the supposition are present, and it has been thought possible when there is no positive evidence against it. The motif occurs, as well, with other scenes which cannot, at first sight, be integrated to this preoccupation. In certain instances, a more general connotation in the motif must, no doubt, be supposed, but in others, it may itself express a plea for salvation alongside of other ideas in the scenes. Examples are a Ducciesque tabernacle in the Siena Academy (No. 35; *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, 1913, p. 139) and a diptych in the London National Gallery (No. 2937), by Barnaba da Modena, dated 1374 (*National Gallery Illustrations: Italian Schools*, London, 1937, p. 17).
In addition, entirely different representations may carry elements of this same plea, e.g., the Last Judgment in the gable of a tabernacle center-panel in the Philip Lehman Collection, New York, by the Biadaiolo Illuminator (Offner, *op. cit.*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. I, pl. XIX), the Judgment and the Crucifixion in the shutters of a tabernacle in the Kunsthalle, Bremen (No. 292), by Jacopo del Casentino, especially as the Dormition is below the Madonna icon in the central panel, the same scenes in two tabernacle shutters in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (No. 37.722). Possibly related, also, are representations of the Quick and the Dead in several small panels.
98. We have, finally, a specific instance of an altarpiece in which one of the supplicants was alive, the other dead, and it is possible to imagine comparable circumstances surrounding the commissioning of a devotional panel. In 1320, a certain Signora Mandina, wife of Falco Buonaccorsi, just dead, ordered a Madonna for the Church of the Spedale dei Chierici in the Via San Gallo, Florence. She stipulated that she was to be portrayed kneeling at the Madonna's feet with, however, not her husband newly defunct but her first husband, Eques Guatano de' Pigli, to whom she felt still truly bound (cited by R. Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte v. Florenz*, Vol. IV, Pt. III, pp. 219-20).
99. It must be said that the idea of living persons praying constantly and intimately before panels containing their own likenesses may seem to have repugnant elements, but it is difficult to penetrate the mentality of the period sufficiently to determine any such feeling.

Moreover, in the case of donated works, there can be little doubt that living persons did just that.

100. J. Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, revised ed., London, 1907, p. 296. Although the oldest manuscripts known in which the *Dies Irae* appears as a sequence in the Masses for the Dead are said to be of the end of the fifteenth century, Albizzi speaks of it as already common in such masses in his day (ca. 1385), and it is likely that it was so used much earlier still. See A. Coles, *Dies Irae*, 5th ed., New York, 1868, Introduction.
101. Beside the group of devotional panels concerned primarily with salvation, other groups may be distinguishable, but they need further study. For example, numerous panels give great importance to the Nativity, often balancing it against the Crucifixion. There is both general doctrinal justification for this in the fact that these two scenes are often considered the first and last acts in the drama of Redemption (see Bäumer, *op. cit.*, p. 5) and special Franciscan justification in the fact that St. Francis held the Nativity in extraordinary veneration and "observed it above all other festivals, declaring it was the Feast of Feasts" (II Cel. 199). The Miracle at Greccio is linked with this veneration (I Cel. 84, 85, 86). But again, popular attitudes are to be taken into account: the place of the manger at Greccio came to be worshipped as sacred, a church was built over it, many women "in long and grievous labor" were safely delivered by putting some of the hay from the manger on themselves, and it seems to have become a place of pilgrimage (I Cel. 87). It is, therefore, conceivable that certain of the Nativity tabernacles may be connected with prayers for safe delivery, or even with celebration on the birth of a child. This seems particularly likely when details in the works themselves strengthen the fundamental evidence. First, certain panels emphasize the Nativity to the exclusion of all other scenes except the Crucifixion, e.g. the Giottesque diptych wing in the Stoclet Collection, Brussels (see *A commemorative catalogue of the exhibition of Italian art, etc., Burlington House, etc.*, London, 1931, No. 10). That the missing wing showed a Crucifixion is probable, but that we do not have to do with a mere narrative allusion to the first and last acts in redemption is proved by the fact that the Nativity is in the right wing. Second, some Nativity panels have relic niches, a certain indication of supplicatory intent, in connection with which the scene becomes a paradigm. An example is the tabernacle center in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson Collection, No. 116. Finally, a small group of tabernacles with the Nativity taking up one shutter shows two kneeling figurines, a male and a female commissioner, before the Madonna and Child in the central panel. These may be interpreted as the devout parents, perhaps to be, and they certainly point to supplicatory use. Of this category are the well-known Bi-

gallo tabernacle by Bernardo Daddi, which contains in addition, be it noted, representations of two miracles involving children, and the adaptation of it by Taddeo Gaddi in Berlin (Nos. 1079-81). Another was in the Gunther-Prestel Auction in Vienna (*Catalogue* Nov., 1910, p. 35, No. 460), and there are others.

102. The picture came to the Oxford Library in 1828 as a work of the school of Duccio, was listed in the catalogue of 1833 (No. 117) as by Cimabue and so exhibited in Manchester in 1857 (*Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, etc.*, London, 1857, No. 7). Langton Douglas, in the revised edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in Italy* (Vol. III, p. 28, note 1), gave it to Segna di Bonaventura, the authors having given it to a follower of Duccio (Vol. I, pp. 184-85, note 2). See also Van Marle, II, p. 144, note 4. This vacillation is, of course, a reflection of that in the attribution of the Rucellai Madonna.
103. Purchased for Detroit in 1924, from the collection of Prince Leon Ouroussoff, Russian ambassador to Vienna and Paris. Detroit Institute of Arts, *Bulletin*, VI, Jan., 1925, p. 35; the same, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Permanent Collection*, Detroit, 1930, No. 233 (as Ugolino da Siena); B. Berenson, *Pitture italiane, ecc.*, Milan, 1936 (Master of Città di Castello); Detroit Institute of Arts, *List of Re-attributions*, May, 1940 (Master of Città di Castello).
104. Langton Douglas, *loc. cit.*
105. Van Marle, I, fig. 189; L. Venturi, *Italian Paintings in America*, New York, 1933, pl. IX; Van Marle in *Pantheon*, July, 1929, p. 318, fig. 6.



Fig. 1. Oxford, Christ Church Library. Tabernacle.
Ducciesque. ca. 1300. Present state.

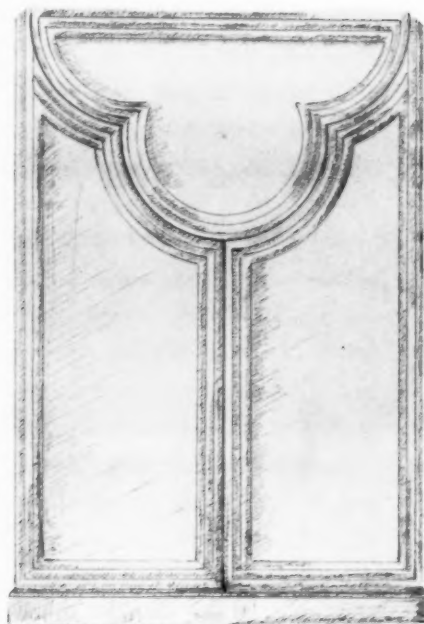
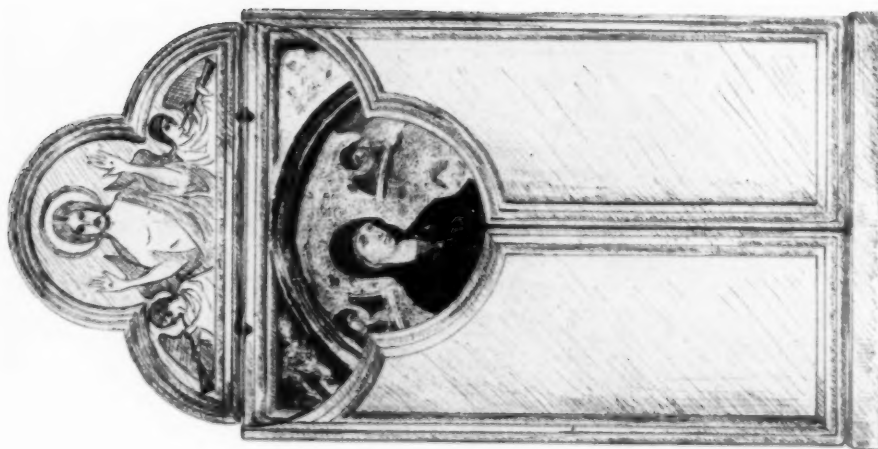
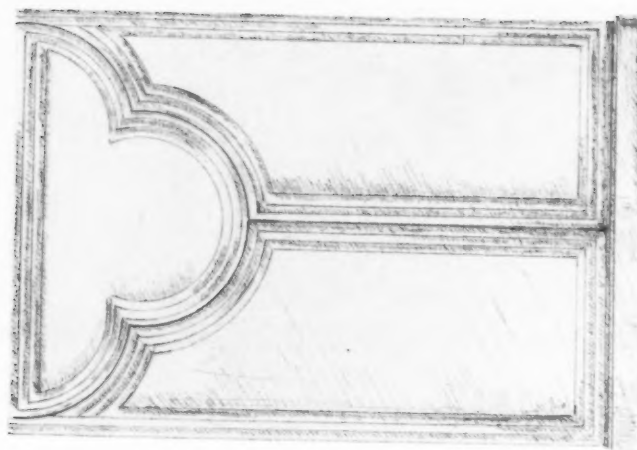


Fig. 2. Oxford, Christ Church
Library. Tabernacle.
Closed position.



a. Half closed



b. Entirely closed

Tabernacle. Reconstruction

Fig. 3. Oxford, Christ Church Library.



Fig. 4. Oxford, Christ Church Library.
Tabernacle. Reconstruction.
Open position.



Fig. 5. Munich, Bavarian National Museum.
Enamel tabernacle. 14th century.

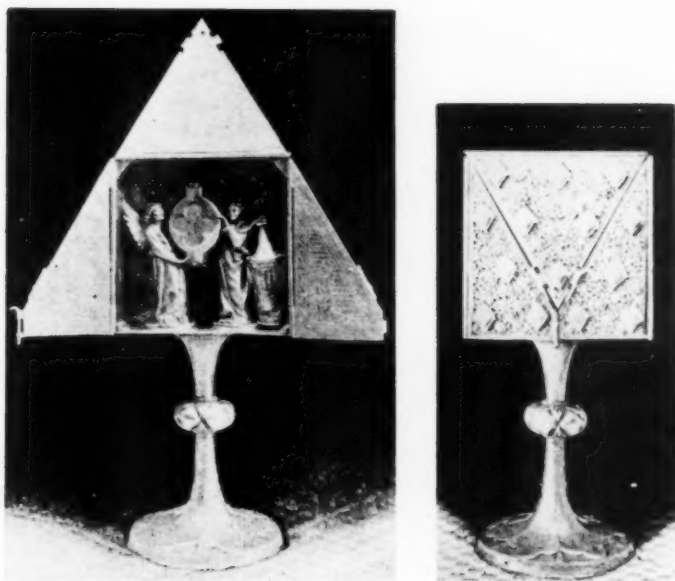


Fig. 6. Charroux (France), Abbey.
Tabernacle. 13th century.



Fig. 7. Danzig, Marienkirche.
Tabernacle.
15th century.



Fig. 8. Nordkirchen (Belgium), Ducs d'Arenberg Collection. Reliquary tabernacle. Mid-twelfth century.



Fig. 9. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire. Reliquary panel. ca. 1220.



Fig. 10. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. Reliquary tabernacle. Early 13th century.



Fig. 11. Liège, Ste. Croix.
Reliquary tabernacle.
ca. 1150.

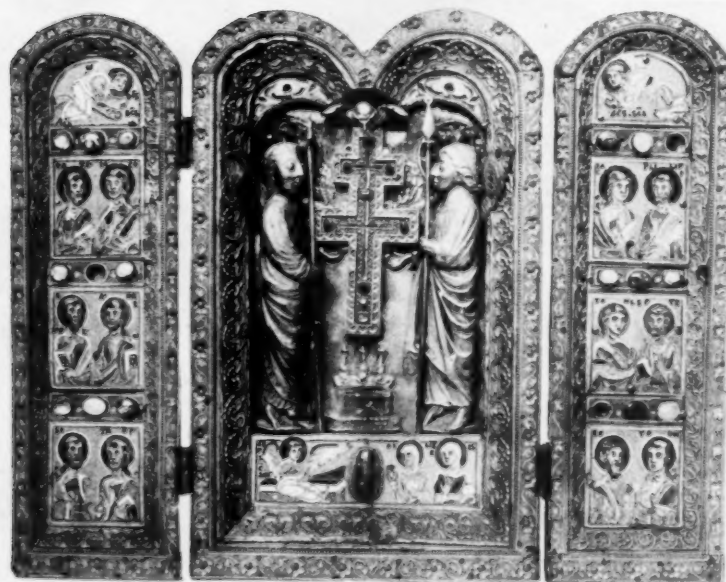


Fig. 12. Paris, Petit Palais. Reliquary
tabernacle. ca. 1155.



Fig. 13. Italy, market (formerly).
Sienese tabernacle center.
Second half 14th century.



Fig. 15. Siena, Pinacoteca.
Altarpiece center.
Lippo Memmi, ca. 1350.



Fig. 14. Boston, Gardner Museum. Pentaptych
Lippo Memmi. ca. 1320.



Fig. 16. Lucca, S. Francesco. Fresco over tomb of Bonagiunta Tignozini. School of Deodato di Orlando. 4th quarter 13th C.



Fig. 17. London, Ashburnham Collection. Riminese. 1st half 14th century.



Fig. 18. Vezzolano (Piedmont), Abbey. Fresco over Castelnuovo tomb. ca. 1353.



Fig. 19. New York. Metropolitan Museum. Tabernacle. Follower of Daddi. 1330-35.

courtesy of the museum



Fig. 20. Vienna, Bondy Collection. Tabernacle. Follower of Daddi. 1330-35.



Fig. 21. Livorno, Larderel Collection. Tabernacle. Tuscan. End of 14th century.



Fig. 22. Siena, Pinacoteca.
Part of diptych or
tabernacle. Duccio.
ca. 1280-90.



Fig. 23. Budapest, Museum.
Tabernacle center.
Follower of S. Cecilia
Master. 1330-35.



Fig. 24. New York, P. Lehman.
Tabernacle center.
Sienese. 1st half
14th century.



Fig. 25. Florence, dealer.
Diptych wing.
Cioneseque, Late
14th century.



Fig. 26. Oxford, Christ Church Library. Tabernacle center.



Fig. 27. Detroit, Institute of Arts.
Altarpiece center. Sienese.
Early 14th century.

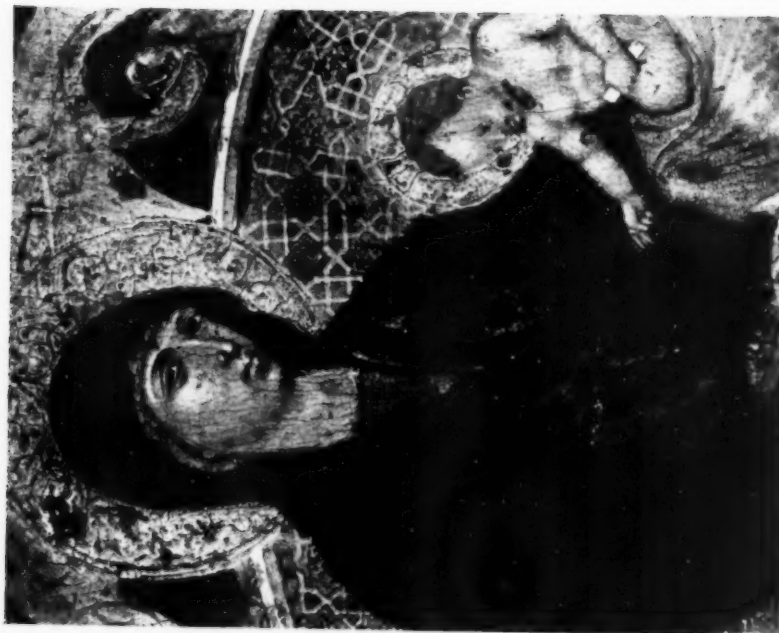
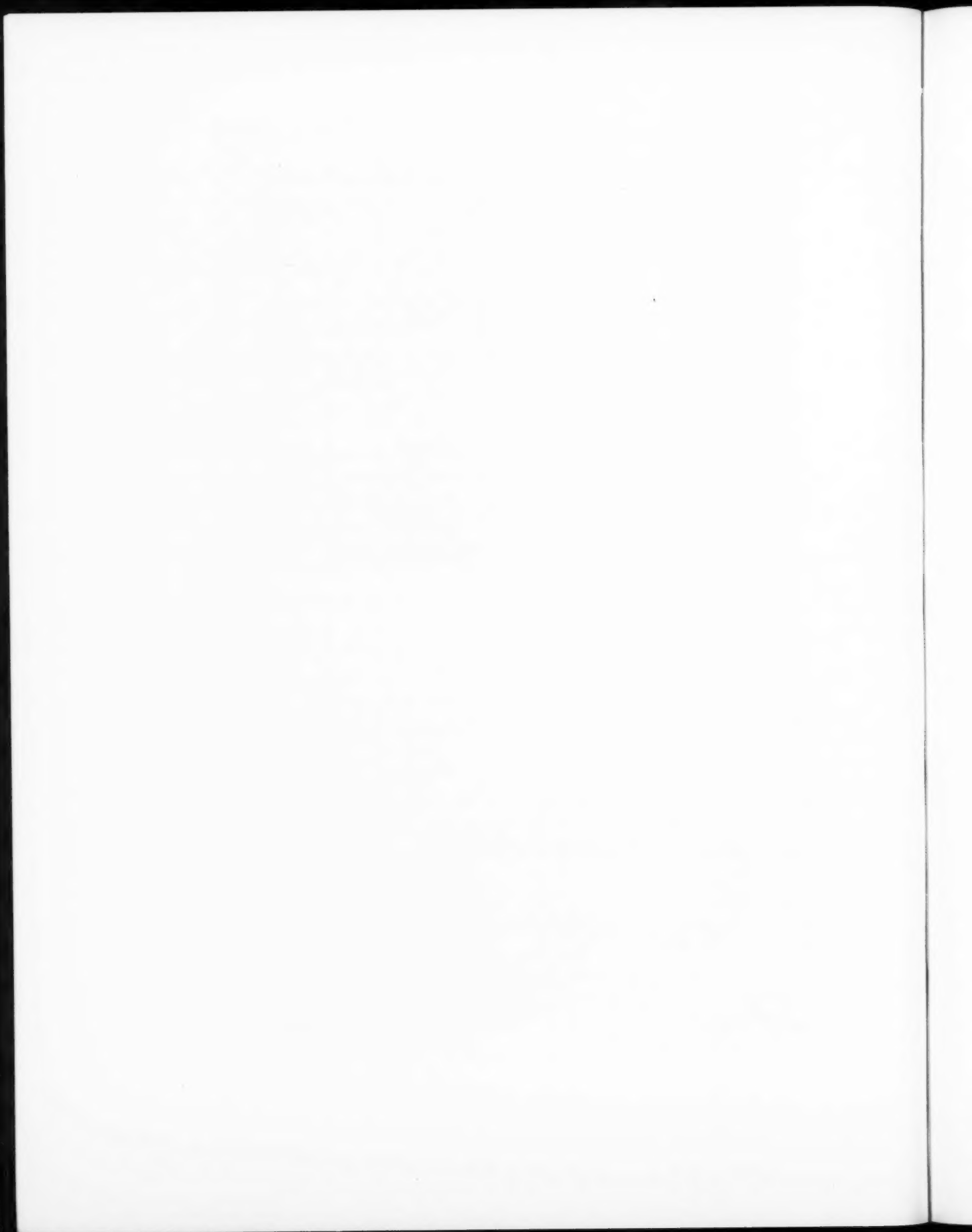


Fig. 28. Oxford, Christ Church
Library. Tabernacle.
Detail.



THE ICONOGRAPHY OF TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL
IN FLORENTINE PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE*

by

Gertrude M. Achenbach

There shall no evil befall thee,
Neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling,
For he shall give his angels charge over thee,
To keep thee in all thy ways.

(Ps. XCI, 10-11.)

Although the story of Tobias and the angel on their journey has been a popular subject in painting from the early Middle Ages to modern times, no comprehensive study of its iconography has yet been made. Apart from scattered remarks in a few art historical works, the iconography of the scene in Florentine painting of the Renaissance has been dealt with only by Ernst Kühnel, in his monograph on Botticini.¹ In connection with the paintings of it by this artist, Kühnel took up the subject of Tobias and the angel, and, although his discussion of it is generally unsystematic and incomplete, made several observations which proved valuable as a basis for the present article. This study has been undertaken in order to give a comprehensive view of the subject as it appeared in Florentine painting of the Renaissance, and to discuss its pictorial sources.

The representation of the boy Tobias walking hand in hand with the archangel Raphael is derived from the deuterocanonical Book of Tobit, which was composed about 200 B.C.² There we read that the blind and aged Tobit decided to send his young son Tobias on a journey to recover an old debt, so that at the father's death his family would not be left in utter want. The youth made this trip accompanied by Raphael who, sent by God in the guise of a noble kinsman, had offered himself as a guide. Because of the angelic protection, Tobias successfully completed his journey and returned, bringing with him not only the desired money, but also a lovely wife and a medicine to heal his father's blindness. The medicine consisted of the heart, liver and gall of a monstrous fish which

Tobias, with the help of Raphael, had overcome on the banks of the Tigris.

Representations relating to the capture of the fish have survived from the Early Christian period, but the episode of Tobias on his journey accompanied by Raphael does not seem to have been illustrated before the Carolingian period. Then it appeared only in manuscripts of the Book of Tobit.³ From the eleventh century on, it appeared in major painting as well, but it became frequent only at the end of the Middle Ages. Not before the eleventh century is Raphael shown holding Tobias by the hand, as he usually does in later periods.⁴

In Italy, representations of Tobias and the angel were rare during the Middle Ages, and in the major arts no illustration dating before the mid-fourteenth century has been found. This is surprising because by the eleventh century, in northern Italy at least, Raphael was venerated as a guardian angel, especially as a protector of health -- specifically of the human eye.⁵ References to the angel in this role occur in medieval literature, the most conspicuous example being in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.⁶ Therefore, it is probable that major paintings of the subject were produced before the earliest one that I have found, a fresco in San Zeno, Verona, of about 1350 (*fig. 1*).⁷ In this painting, as in all representations of the subject, the iconography emphasizes the idea of divine guardianship. This is achieved by rendering Raphael as a tall and mighty figure, with great wings and a large halo. Here, as in most cases, the angel's head is turned toward his protégé, and in this example he points to heaven with his left hand. In contrast to the mighty guardian, Tobias is depicted as a little child. He holds a small fish on a string in his right hand, and with his left clings trustingly to the angel's hand, while looking upward to his protector's face. This interpretation is in entire disagreement with the Biblical account, in which Raphael appears as an ordinary human being, and Tobias as a mature youth.⁸ Furthermore, according to the legend the fish which Tobias overcame with Raphael's help was a monster, and it was not carried away, but was eaten by the

two travelers at the place where it had been caught.⁹ The fish was undoubtedly introduced in this painting in order to remind the observer of the event at the Tigris, and thus to emphasize the idea of Raphael as guardian angel.¹⁰

The source of the iconography of the painting in Verona is difficult to discover. Although no immediate source can be established, it seems possible that the composition derives ultimately from representations of the archangel Uriel leading the infant John the Baptist through the desert. This type of representation, based on an Eastern apochryphal legend of Zacharias,¹¹ appeared in Byzantine art at least as early as the eleventh century, the earliest example known to me being an illumination in a Gospel book (*fig. 3*).¹² This iconography must have entered Italy directly from the East, since it appeared in Italy first in regions under strong Byzantine influence. It was known in Venice by the second half of the thirteenth century,¹³ and by the early fourteenth century was familiar in Tuscany.¹⁴ A late thirteenth century Venetian panel at Genoa is a good example of it (*fig. 5*).¹⁵ As far as the figures are concerned, a representation like this could well have served as the source for the San Zeno fresco (*fig. 1*): in it John, like Tobias, appears as a young child, and Uriel, a mighty archangel, forms a counterpart to Raphael. The representation of John and Uriel differs from that of Tobias and his protector only in external features. The Venetian panel, like most paintings of its theme, contains a landscape background and a halo around the child's head, elements which are absent from the San Zeno fresco and which are not characteristic of medieval representations of Tobias and the angel. In addition, Tobias invariably carries the fish, whereas John, if he carries anything, holds an unfurled scroll.¹⁶

The subject of the infant Baptist led by Uriel ceased to appear in Italy at the end of the Gothic period, but its basic iconography, that of an angel who guards a child on a difficult journey, was continued in representations of Tobias and the angel.

In Florence, representations of Tobias and Raphael on their journey did not appear, except in manuscript illumination,^{1,7} before the early quattrocento, and were rare until the middle of that century. Nevertheless, the story must have enjoyed a certain popularity during this period, since in about 1420 a cycle of eighteen frescoes illustrating the Book of Tobit was executed for the Bargello.^{1,8} One of these murals, which unfortunately has been destroyed, depicted Raphael and Tobias flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. In two other known paintings which represent the angel and his protégé and date from the first half of the fifteenth century, a *Crucifixion* by Bicci di Lorenzo (*fig. 7*)^{1,9} and a *Madonna and Child in Glory* by an anonymous Florentine master (*fig. 8*)^{2,0} Raphael and Tobias are subsidiary figures. However, the fact that they were introduced in paintings of such important subjects as these indicates that they must have been popular figures at this time.

The incipient popularity of the theme in Florence during the early quattrocento was followed by an extraordinary increase in the number of its representations in the second half of the century. Apparently, between 1465 and 1485 more paintings of Tobias and the angel were produced in Florence than in all other Italian centers combined. Like the medieval examples, the Florentine Renaissance representations emphasize the part played by Raphael as the protector of Tobias, and invariably depict him as the main figure. Even the document commissioning such a work refers to it as "un Raf(f)ael(1)o" or "un Angelo Raf(f)ael(1)o", with or without the additional phrase "con T(h)obia".^{2,1} From the middle of the quattrocento on, there was an even greater emphasis on Raphael's predominant role. This is indicated not only by the greatly increased number of paintings and their still more detailed iconography, but also by the literature of the subject. During the second half of the fifteenth century, there was a notable increase in the popularity of the story in Florentine literature, especially dramatic literature. Plays dealing with the story of Tobit and Tobias stress Raphael's role as guardian angel. This idea is even suggested by the titles of these plays, which are usually called "the play of the Angel Raphael and Tobias".^{2,2}

In art, this increased popularity of the story, as well as the still greater emphasis on the concept of Raphael's guardianship, seems to have been due primarily to the special interests of the Raphael societies and the merchants, the two most important groups to commission paintings of the subject. Raphael societies were lay confraternities whose patron saint was the archangel. Although some were founded before the middle of the century, they flourished mainly during the second half of the quattrocento, when they had their own altars, and sometimes their own chapels, in all the important Florentine churches. For these the societies invariably ordered paintings of Tobias and the angel, and many of their members commissioned such works for private worship.²³

Since the members of the Raphael societies were primarily interested in their patron saint, the iconography of the paintings commissioned by them was designed especially to stress the concept of the divine guardianship of the archangel. As in medieval representations, this was achieved by emphasizing Raphael's angelic character through his general appearance, now more adapted to ideals of human beauty than in the earlier periods. A typical example of such representations is the famous altarpiece by Francesco Botticini in the Uffizi (*fig. 10*). This painting, which originally adorned the altar of the Raphael society *Il Raffa* at Santo Spirito, for which it was executed,²⁴ depicts Raphael and Tobias accompanied by Michael and Gabriel. The guardian of Tobias is rendered as a majestic winged figure clad in the traditional angelic garb, a loose chiton belted at the waist and falling to his sandalled feet.²⁵ His head is framed by soft long curls and is surrounded by a halo, and in his free hand he holds a vessel containing the healing organs of the fish. Tobias also appears highly idealized, as a slender boy of easy carriage, with graceful limbs and a lovely head wreathed by a halo of short golden rays, here a symbol of purity. He wears the contemporary traveling costume of the young Florentine, a fashionable belted tunic, long hose, high boots and a short cloak. He carries the fish in his left hand, his right being held by Raphael.²⁶ Ahead of the pair scampers the little dog which, according to the legend, accompanied them on their journey,²⁷ and which

always appears in Renaissance paintings of the subject. A charming landscape background -- here, as in many examples, a representation of the Valley of the Arno, whose river reminds the spectator of the Tigris -- stretches behind the travelers. This element of the iconography was not characteristic of the scene before the quattrocento, and its introduction at this time can be understood as a natural result of the new Renaissance interest in the surrounding world.

The second major group of commissions came from the Florentine merchants. Since the fourteenth century it had been customary for this class to send its sons abroad, often as young as thirteen or fourteen years of age, to become apprentices in the foreign branches of Florentine firms.^{2,8} By the third quarter of the fifteenth century it had become fashionable for such families to commission paintings of Tobias and the angel on the occasion of the boy's departure. The parents identified their sons with Tobias, and would pray to Raphael before such pictures, hoping in this way to obtain his protection for their sons on this first long journey. The special significance which the figure of Tobias had for the merchants naturally resulted in a greater emphasis on his appearance in works executed for their private use than in those commissioned by the confraternities. A typical example of a merchant commission is a panel by Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo at Turin (*fig. 13*).^{2,9} Here, Tobias is represented not as a young child, as he frequently is in works executed for the Raphael societies, but as a mature youth. Also, his costume is more elaborate than it is in examples painted for the confraternities, and the halo is omitted, in keeping with his character as an ordinary human being.^{3,0} On the other hand, Raphael's appearance in this painting is essentially the same as it is in the pictures executed for the Raphael societies, although he is less highly idealized.^{3,1}

Since the parents who ordered such paintings wished to be reminded of their absent sons, the features of Tobias sometimes were made to resemble those of the boy in question. For example, in the panel by Botticini in the Florentine Academy (*fig. 14*), commissioned by the Doni fami-

ly,^{3,2} a small figure, probably the son of the donor for whose sake the picture was commissioned, kneels at the left of the main group. His hands are folded in prayer and he looks trustingly at the angel, just as does Tobias, who is led by Raphael as usual. Since the features of the kneeling boy resemble closely those of Tobias; in this instance the figure of Tobias is intended to portray the donor's son. Such individualization of Tobias' features has led some scholars to assert that in most Florentine Renaissance paintings of the subject the figure of Tobias is intended as a portrait of the child for whose sake the work was commissioned.^{3,3} However, a careful examination of the extant works reveals that this is true of only a few pictures.

These two groups of paintings of Tobias and the angel, commissioned on the one hand by the Raphael societies and on the other by the merchants, are by far the most important. However, occasionally -- but, because of the theme's popularity in Florence, more frequently here than in any other school -- the two are represented in company with other figures. In some cases, such as the previously discussed San Spirito altarpiece by Botticini (*fig. 10*), they are flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Sometimes, as in a panel by a follower of Baldovinetti at Amsterdam (*fig. 15*),^{3,4} other saints are included, and in some examples, such as a provincial panel at Petriolo (*fig. 17*),^{3,5} the donor appears, in this case with his family. In still another group of examples, which is rather large, Raphael and Tobias are introduced as subsidiary figures in paintings of other subjects. In such works, either they are placed in the foreground, usually with other saints, as in the previously mentioned *Crucifixion* by Bicci di Lorenzo (*fig. 7*), or they appear in the background, as for example in the early fifteenth century painting of the *Madonna and Child in Glory*, mentioned above (*fig. 8*).^{3,6} Finally, the two travelers are sometimes found in minor parts of altarpieces, especially in predellas.^{3,7} In such cases, the iconography of the scene often varies from the normal type, probably partly because of the exigencies of space and partly because in these less conspicuous panels the artists sometimes dared give their imaginations freer play. Thus,

for example, in several predella panels from the shop of Neri di Bicci, including the one in the Florentine Academy (*fig. 20*)³⁸ the two travelers are shown kneeling in the landscape instead of walking. In these iconographic sub-types, Tobias is usually represented as a young child, not individualized, and Raphael invariably appears as a mighty guardian angel.

A final point is still to be made concerning the interest in representations of Tobias and the angel during the fifteenth century. Although its overwhelming popularity occurred in Florence, the center of humanistic thought of the early Renaissance, the interest in this theme was not related to the advanced thought of the time, but belonged instead to a popular current. Examination of the documents commissioning paintings of Tobias and the angel reveals that most of the commissioners did not belong to the class which patronized humanistic activities, but were rather unimportant people.³⁹ Except for the Doni, none of them belonged to outstanding Florentine families, and most of them seem to have come from that large, unprogressive lower middle class which never grasped the real significance of the humanistic movement. Instead, this class turned the more eagerly to the Church, where it found confirmation of its traditional beliefs and encouragement for its orthodox piety. The interest in the legend of Tobias may be understood as an expression of this attitude, since the story exemplifies the basic belief of the Catholic Church that men acquire grace through faith and good works.⁴⁰

That the story appealed to popular rather than to humanistic taste is also indicated by the type of artist who executed paintings of it. None of the great masters seems to have painted such pictures. The style of the examples attributed to Botticelli, Verrocchio and Antonio Pollaiuolo proves that even if these masters accepted such commissions, they left the execution to assistants. Nevertheless, the paintings of these workshops are of high quality, as are a number of others, notably those by Botticini, who, like Neri di Bicci, is known to have been a member of *Il Raffa*,⁴¹ one of the most important Raphael societies. However, the

majority of Florentine Renaissance examples are rather mediocre works. A good many were executed by artists belonging to the circle of narrative painters which flourished during the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century and included such painters as Neri di Bicci, Jacopo del Sellaio, and followers of Ghirlandaio and Andrea del Sarto. In addition to their works, there is a large group of provincial paintings of the theme from the broad environs of Florence, most of which are the crude productions of long forgotten painters.

The popularity of the subject in Florentine art was brief, being limited to the second half of the fifteenth century and culminating in the years between 1465 and 1485. After 1490, the number of commissions for paintings of it decreased rapidly, undoubtedly as a result of the political, economic and social upheaval which impoverished the Florentine middle class at the end of the century. After 1500, monumental paintings of Tobias and the angel were rarely commissioned. However, the theme lingered on into the second half of the sixteenth century, usually appearing in small panels. These for the most part were ordered for private use and executed by followers of Domenico Ghirlandaio and Andrea del Sarto, such as Granacci, Buggiardini and Il Bacchiacca. Although after the middle of the cinquecento even such representations as these became rare in Florence, interest in the subject was revived early in the seventeenth century when, in 1608, Pope Paul V established the Festival of the Holy Guardian Angels.

The results of this study may be briefly summarized as follows: From the Carolingian period on, the concept of Raphael as a guardian angel was emphasized in representations of Tobias and the angel. The basic iconography of the subject was probably derived from that of representations of the archangel Uriel leading the infant John the Baptist through the desert, an iconography which had originated in the East. This was known in Italy by the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and continued to be represented there until the end of the fourteenth, after which it was used for the subject of Tobias and the angel.

During the Renaissance, especially during the second half of the quattrocento, the subject of Tobias and the angel was more popular in Florence than anywhere else in Italy: the variety of iconographic types was greater, and a far larger number of paintings of the subject was executed here than in any other Italian center. Apparently, this popularity was due to the special interests of two important groups of patrons: the well-to-do merchants of the lower middle class and the members of the Raphael societies. The possibility of interpreting the subject as a humanistic theme is excluded by the class of patrons commissioning paintings of it, and by the type of artists who executed them. Instead, we must recognize in its popularity an expression of the beliefs and interests of an unprogressive and pious class of Florentine Renaissance society. The patronage of this class had a significant influence on the iconography of the paintings. Both the merchants and the members of the Raphael societies were primarily concerned with the concept of angelic guardianship; however, while the members of the religious confraternities desired the main emphasis in their paintings to be placed on the angel, the merchants were equally interested in Tobias. The popularity of the theme resulted in the creation of many iconographic sub-types, in which both figures are usually less individualized than they are in examples in which they appear as the principle figures. However, wherever the two figures appear, the guardianship of Raphael over Tobias is clearly expressed.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL IN FLORENTINE PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE

NOTES

- * I am greatly indebted to Professor Richard Offner for giving me access to his rich photographic material, for allowing me to reproduce what I needed of this, and for assisting me in the attribution of anonymous works. I also wish to express my gratitude to Clotilda A. Brokaw for her generous help in preparing this paper for publication.
1. Ernst Kühnel, *Francesco Botticini*, Strasbourg, 1906, pp. 43-62.
 2. For general information and a recent bibliography on the Book of Tobit, consult Walter Bousset and H. Grossmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1926, p. 6, and Michael Buchberger, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg i. B., 1936, X, pp. 184-86. For the content and the literary treatment, see Kurt Ilgen, *Die Geschichte Tobias*, Jena, 1800, and Johannes Müller, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik des Buches Tobias*, Göttingen, 1907.
 3. The earliest representation known to me is found in the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1, fol. 297 v.), which is dated about 845 (Wilhelm Köhler, *Die Schule von Tours*, Berlin, 1930, Atlas, pl. LXXXIX). In this example Tobias does not hold the angel's hand but walks behind Raphael, the little dog which accompanied the two on their journey trotting along between them.
 4. The earliest example of this iconography which I could find is the eleventh-century fresco in the west choir of the Cathedral at Essen (see Paul Clemen, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt und des Kreises Essen*, Düsseldorf, 1893, fig. on p. 36).
 5. See Buchberger, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 632 (Raphael).
 6. *Paradiso*, IV, vv. 46-48.
 7. See Evelyn Sandberg-Vavala, *La pittura veronese del trecento e del primo quattrocento*, Verona, 1926, fig. 25. This painting is well preserved, except for the inscriptions, which have largely disappeared. However, enough of the inscription beside the angel's halo is intact so that the name (RA)FA-EL can be deciphered.
 8. Tob. v, 4-5, 11-13.
 9. *Ibid.*, vi, 2, 11.
 10. The iconography of the San Zeno fresco, in combination with the fact that the picture is large in scale, indicates that it was a votive painting, perhaps commissioned in fulfillment of a vow, or in gratitude to the angel for health restored. It could also have been

donated at the birth of a much-desired child, in order to win Raphael's protection for the infant on his road through life. That pictures of Tobias and the angel were painted on such occasions is proved by a late fifteenth-century fresco by Bartolommeo Caporali, in San Francesco at Montone, representing St. Anthony of Padua in Glory, with the Baptist, and Raphael with Tobias on the earth below (*fig. 2*). In the center of the lower part of this painting (Stanley Lothrop, "Bartolommeo Caporali," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I, pls. XXV-XXVI), two little angels hold a tablet whose Latin text gives the birth of the donor's first son as the reason for this ex-voto commission:

CAROLUS BRACCI GENITOR
 NATU SIBI FILIUM EXVOTO:
 DIVO ANTARAM & SACELLU
 ERIGI INSTITUIT. QUO EX
 TINCTO BERNARDINU EPOPU
 CAMP(RAR)I MANDAVIT. 1491
 BARTOLOMEUS CAPORALIS PIN.

An altarpiece painted in 1401 by Niccolo da Voltri (Raimond Van Marle, *The development of the Italian schools of painting*, The Hague, 1925, V, fig. 186), containing the Annunciation in the central panel, the Baptist in the left, and Tobias with Raphael in the right wing, seems also to have been commissioned on the occasion of a birth, as the iconography of all three representations indicates. Here, as in the fresco at Montone, the angel and his protege are secondary figures. However, it seems very likely that at the birth of a desired child a painting of Raphael with Tobias alone was sometimes donated, in order to win Raphael's favor for the new-born child, and especially for his early years.

11. According to Alexander Berendts (*Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zachariaslegenden*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 8), this apocryphal legend probably originated in Early Christian Palestine. It is the story of Elizabeth's flight with her infant son into the desert during the Massacre of the Innocents. After they had lived there for some time, God sent the archangel Uriel to bring John to his father in the temple to be baptized. After the fulfillment of this sacrament, the angel led the child back to his mother. The last-mentioned incident is the one we are concerned with here.
12. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 74, fol. 107 v. (Henri Omont, *Evangelies avec peintures byzantines du XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1908, II, fig. 95).
13. The earliest North Italian representation of John and Uriel which I have found is a fresco in the Baptistery at Parma, dated about 1260 (Laudedeo Testi, *Le baptistère de Parme*, Florence, 1916, fig. 162).

14. The earliest example from that region known to me is a panel in the Museum at Berne, by a follower of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, of about 1330/40 (Offner photograph). However, it is very likely that this subject was known in Tuscany well before that time, as is suggested by the fact that it is represented on a Byzantine silver plaque, formerly in the Florence Baptistery (fig. 4; Antonio Francesco Gori, *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum*, Florence, 1759, III, supplement, pl. III). It is not known when this plaque, which contains six scenes of the life of the Baptist, came to the Baptistery. To judge from the style as presented in Gori's engraving, it may be as early as the eleventh century.
15. The painting is in the Palazzo Bianco (Offner photograph).
16. The similarity of the two representations is proved by the fact that both Berenson and Perkins called the representation on an altarpiece at Montone, by Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, a Tobias and the angel, whereas it is actually a John and Uriel (fig. 6). This is indicated by the scroll which the child holds and is confirmed by the fact that the scene on the pendant panel is the Baptism of Christ by John. See Francis Mason Perkins, *Pitture senesi*, Florence, 1933, p. 79 and fig. 77, and Bernhard Berenson, *Italian pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 46.
17. The earliest Florentine representation which I know is in a twelfth-century Old Testament, referred to by Paolo D'Ancona (*La miniatura fiorentina dal secolo XII-XVI*, Florence, 1914, II, p. 15, No. 73). The next earliest appears in a *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* of about 1370 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9584, chap. XXXV; Montague Rhodes James and Bernhard Berenson, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Oxford, 1928, pl. XXXV, 2).
18. See Giovanni Poggi and Ignazio Supino, *Il Bigallo*, Florence, 1905.
19. Yale University Gallery, New Haven (*Worcester Art Museum Annual*, IV, 1941, p. 18, fig. 9).
20. Museum Van Westreened, The Hague (Offner photograph). Professor Offner has verbally attributed this work to a late follower of Orcagna and dated it about 1425.
21. See Neri di Bicci, "Le Ricordanze," ed. Giovanni Poggi, in *Il Vasari*, I, p. 317; Jacques Mesnil, "Botticelli, les Pollaiuoli, et Verrocchio," *Rivista d'Arte*, III, 1906, p. 40, note 1; Ernst Kühnel, "Documenti relativi alla storia della tavola degli arcangeli nell'Accademia delle Belle Arti," *ibid.*, p. 203. Also consult Kühnel, *Francesco Botticini (op. cit.)*, p. 60, note 1. Further proof for such titles is the inscription on the panel attributed to Jacopo del Sellaio in the Kunstverein, Münster i. W. (fig. 9; Offner photograph).
22. See Alessandro D'Ancona, *Sacre rappresentazioni*, Florence, 1872, I, pp. 97-128; Aby M. Warburg, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike*, Berlin, 1932, p. 111.
23. *Il Raffa* and *La Scala* were the most important Raphael societies. The latter was founded in

1410 but did not have much importance until 1430, when Pope Eugene IV gave it a church of the Ospedale della Scala as a regular meeting place. See Gennaro M. Monti, *Le confraternite medioevali dell'alta e media Italia*, Venice, 1927, I, p. 183.

24. On the documents for this commission, see Kühnel, "Documenti, etc." (*op. cit.*), pp. 199-205; Mesnil, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-45.
25. Raphael frequently wears a chlamys-like cloak over this dress, fastened at the throat. In only a very few examples is he shown in the priestly attire which appears more frequently in North Italy, a heavy dalmatic over a long-sleeved shirt of a fine light cloth, occasionally with a cloak over it. Such an example is found in a tondo by a follower of Domenico Ghirlandaio in the Theodore Dreiser Collection at Newark (*Catalogue of a loan exhibition of Italian primitives*, Kleinberger Galleries, New York, 1917, No. 6).
26. In addition to the iconography, the idea of Raphael as guardian angel is sometimes expressed by pious inscriptions, which are usually placed at the top or the bottom of the panel. These refer to the Tobias story and ask the angel's protection. For example, in a panel of the third quarter of the fifteenth century by a follower of Baldovinetti, which is in San Giovanni Valdarno (*fig. 11*; Emil Schaeffer, *Das Florentiner Bildnis*, Munich, 1904, p. 83), the inscription on an unfurled scroll below Tobias reads:

RAPHAEL . MEDICINALIS . MECUM . SIS . PPTUALIS . ET . SICUT . FUISTI . CUTHOBIA
SEMPER . MECUM . SIS . INVIA .

A similar wish is pronounced at the top of the panel by a follower of Benozzo Gozzoli in a private collection (*fig. 12*; Offner photograph), where the Latin inscription gives a popular variation of a prayer to Raphael in the Roman Missal. It reads:

DEUS QUI BEATU RAPHAELLE ARCHAGELU TOBIE FAMULO TUO PROPERATI PRE
VVV DIREXISTI ET ITER VIE DISCRIMIA DONASTI CUSTODE: DA UT EIUSDE SEMPER
PROTEGAMUR AUSILIO QUATENUS ET VITE PRESEPTIS VITEMUS PERICULA
ET AD GAUDIA VALEAMUS (PE)RVENIRE CELESTIA

The prayer in the Roman Missal, quoted in Ferdinand Cabrol, *The Roman Missal in Latin and English for every day in the year*, New York, 1914, p. 1124, is:

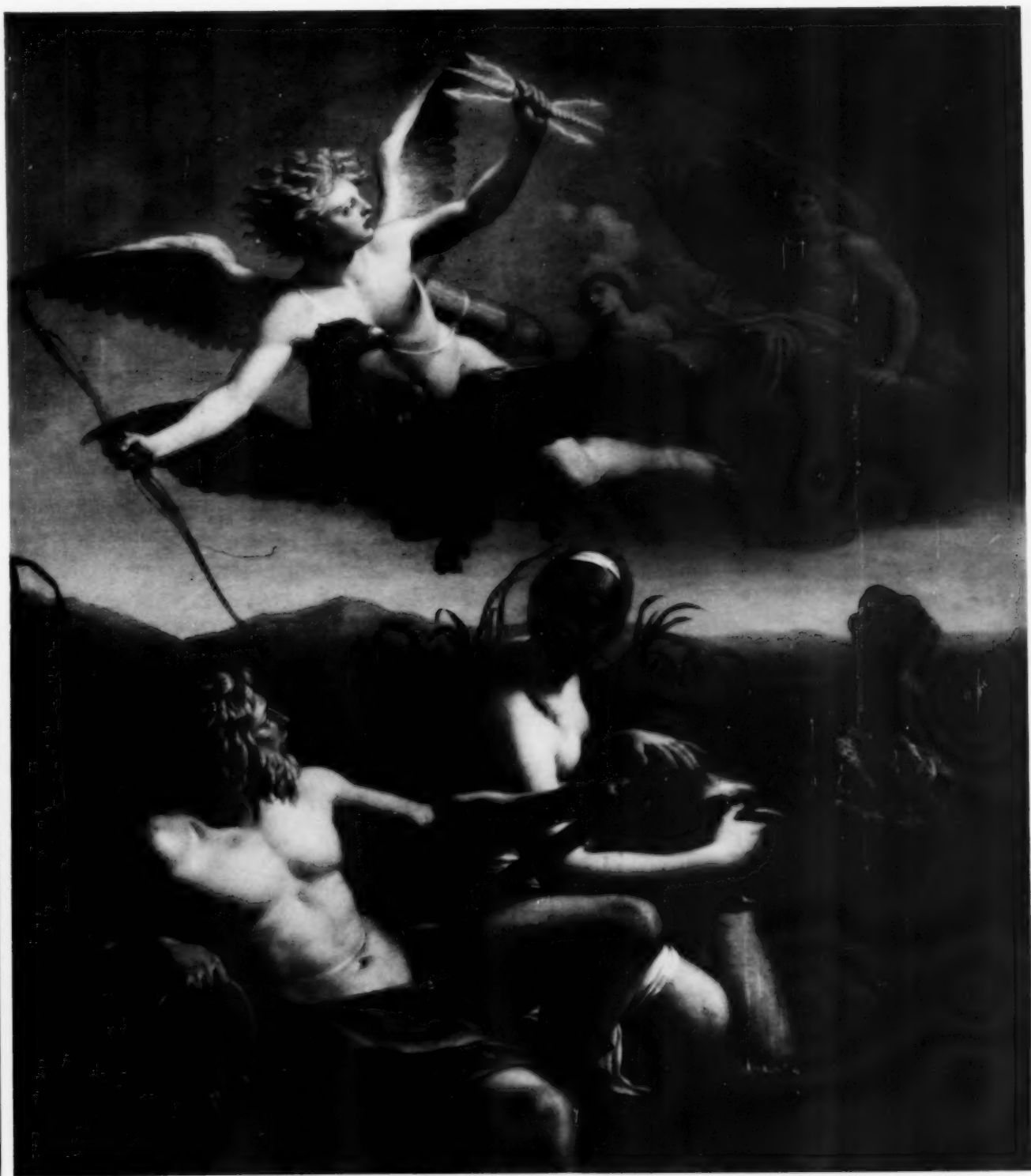
Deus, qui beatum Raphaelum Archangelum
Tobias famulo tuo comitam dedisti in via:
concede nobis famulis tuis: ut eiusdem
semper protegatur custodia, et muniamur
auxilio. Per.

27. Tob. v, 16; xi, 4.

28. See Jacob Burckhardt, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte in Italien*, Basel, 1898, p. 66; Martin Wackernagel, *Der Lebensraum des Künstlers in der florentinischen Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 143-48; Otto Meltzing, *Das Bankhaus der Medici und seine Vorläufer*, Jena, 1906, p. 104.
29. This panel is of particular interest, as it may be the one referred to by Vasari when, in his discussion of the life and work of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, he states: "Dipinsero ancora in S. Michele in Orto, in un pilastro, in tela, a olio un Angelo Raffaello con Tobia" (Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, Florence, 1878, III, pp. 291-92). According to Vasari, this picture was painted "in tela" and "a olio", but this may well be one of his frequent errors.
30. One of the angel's wings is extended over the head of the youth, a feature which also may have been derived from representations of John and Uriel. A favorite motif of Florentine Renaissance representations of Tobias and the angel, it was used in all the iconographic types of this subject.
31. However, the halo is not always omitted in paintings commissioned by merchants, as is proved by the panel by Neri di Bicci depicting Raphael with Tobias, Michael, and Gabriel which is in the Detroit Institute of Arts (*Paintings and Sculptures Illustrated*, Detroit. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1927, p. 50). For a detailed description of this painting, see Neri di Bicci, "Le Ricordanze," (*op. cit.*), p. 317. A picture like this proves that the characteristics of the paintings commissioned for the Raphael societies and those painted for the merchants occasionally overlap. This was most likely to occur when the merchants, who often were members of Raphael societies, ordered such works for exhibition in churches.
32. Discussed by Kühnel, *Francesco Botticini* (*op. cit.*), p. 45. See also Wackernagel. *op. cit.*, p. 144.
33. See Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Hans Mackowsky, *Verrocchio*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1901, p. 84.
34. For reproduction, see *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931, p. 60, fig. A. When, as in this example, only one saint accompanies Raphael and Tobias, he may be the patron saint of the donor or of the church for which the work was commissioned. This can still be true when two saints are added, but often these additional figures are fellow-guardians of man's health. Thus, in an altarpiece of San Leonardo at Arcetri (*fig. 16*; Offner photograph), attributed by Professor Offner to the Master of San Miniato, St. Sebastian appears as guardian from the plague and St. Leonard as protector against mental disorders and helper in childbirth.
35. Photo Alinari 20319.
36. See note 20. The group of paintings in which Raphael and Tobias appear in the background of

other scenes is limited almost exclusively to Florence. In these paintings the two travelers are generally a third to a fifth the size of the main figures. When represented as protagonists, they usually walk away from the center of the picture, but when they are background figures they usually come out of the distance toward the center, where frequently there is a Virgin adoring the Child, e. g. Jacopo del Sellaio's tondo in the Ca' d'Oro at Venice (*fig. 18*; Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XII, *fig. 249*).

37. Other minor parts of the altarpiece in which Tobias and the angel occasionally appear are parts of the gable and the frame. An example of the first is found in the altarpiece by Giovanni dal Ponte in the National Gallery, London (*National Gallery Illustration, Italian School*, London, 1937, p. 157, Nos. 580 and 580A). Here the travelers appear as half-length figures in a medallion over the right wing. An example of the second type is found in the altarpiece of 1494 by Pier Francesco Fiorentino at Sant'Agostino, San Gimignano (*fig. 19*; Photo Alinari 37306). Here the two figures appear full length in the top right-hand section of the frame and are depicted as though they were about to dance in a circle, Tobias turning his back toward the observer. A similar iconography is found as early as 1370, in the Florentine *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* mentioned above, (see note 17).
38. Deposito, No. 3465 (Photo Cipriani, Florence, 6472). A similar example, by the same master, is found in a predella panel in the Art Museum at Worcester, Massachusetts (*Worcester Art Museum Annual*, IV, 1941, p. 13, *fig. 9*).
39. See notes 21 and 29.
40. On the relationship between the religious views and the various classes of Renaissance society, see Alfred von Martin, *Soziologie der Renaissance*, Stuttgart, 1932, *passim*; on the religious outlook of the lower middle-class merchants, see especially pp. 22 ff; for the relations between Renaissance society and Renaissance art generally, see pp. 35, 87 ff., 113.
41. Kühnel, "Documenti, etc." (*op. cit.*), p. 50.
42. Kühnel (*ibid.*, p. 60, note 1) lists the sixteenth-century paintings of the subject mentioned in the inventory of *La Scala* of 1591 and (p. 203) those works enumerated in the inventory of *Il Raffa* of 1542. For most of these works the artist's name is not mentioned, a fact which suggests that these paintings were executed by very minor masters. A number of the surviving sixteenth-century examples, which date mostly from the first half of the century, are of good quality, although, without exception, they are unimportant works.



*Le Suro, Castor
Treasury of the Chamber
Village, Co.
Museo Circo Borogua*

In the future please
refer to this print by number
Frick Art Reference Library
New York

When reproducing
Please state
By courtesy of
Frick Art Reference Library



Fig. 1. Veronese fresco, mid XIV century. Verona, S. Zeno.



Fig. 2. Caporali, fresco, 1491. Montone, S. Francesco.

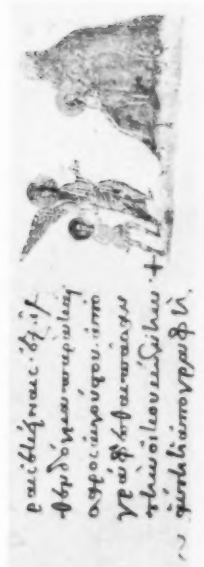


Fig. 3 Byzantine XI century gospels, Paris, Bibl. Nat. grec. 74, fol. 107v.



Fig. 4. Byzantine XI (?) century silver plaque, formerly Florence, Baptistery.

Detail.



Fig. 5. Fragmentary Venetian panel, late XIII century, Genoa, Palazzo Bianco.



Fig. 6. Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, fragment of altarpiece, Montalcino, Gallery.

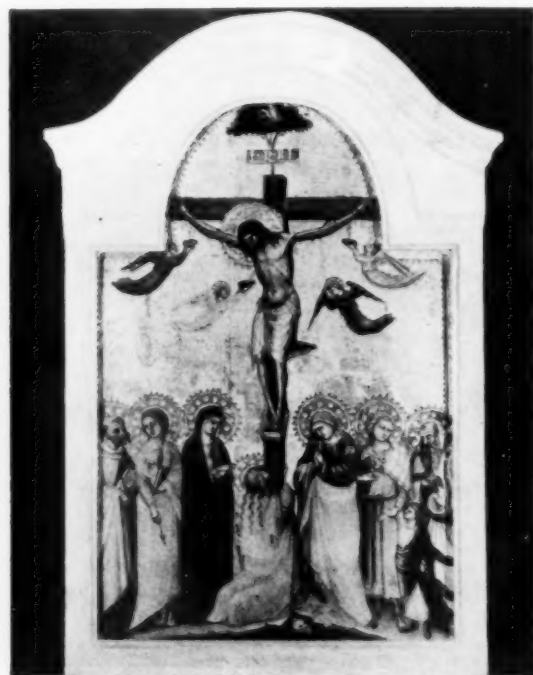


Fig. 7. Bicci di Lorenzo, altarpiece, New Haven, Yale University Gallery.



Fig. 8. Late Orcagnesque,
panel, The Hague, Museum
Meerman van Westreeneh



Fig. 9. Sellaio workshop, panel,
Münster, Gallery



Fig. 10. Botticini, altarpiece,
Florence, Uffizi



Fig. 11. Follower of Bal-
dovinetti, panel, S. Gio-
vanni Valdarno, S. Maria
delle Grazie



Fig. 12. Follower of Gozzoli,
panel. private collection.



Fig. 13. The Pollaiuoli, panel,
Turin Gallery.



Fig. 14. (left) Botticini, panel,
Florence, Academy.



Fig. 15. Pupil of Baldovinetti.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 16. Master of San Miniato, Altarpiece, Arcetri, S. Leonardo.



Fig. 17. Anon., Florentine, third quarter XV century, Petriolo, S. Biagio.



Fig. 18. Sellaio, panel, Venice, Ca d'Oro.

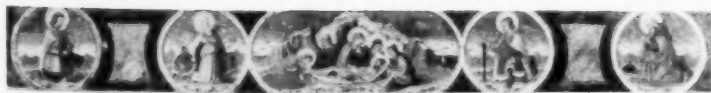


Fig. 20. Neri di Bicci shop, predella panel. Florence, Academy.



Fig. 19. Pler Francesco Florentino, 1494 altarpiece, S. Gemignano, S. Agostino.

ANTIQUE FRAMEWORKS FOR RENAISSANCE ART THEORY: ALBERTI AND PINO*

by

Creighton E. Gilbert

Wir werden...vor allem die philosophischen Systeme nicht allein auf ihren logischen Aufbau und ihren Grundthesen zu untersuchen haben, sondern viel mehr auf die ästhetischen Prinzipien achten müssen, welche die Struktur der Gedanken und ihre Tektonik bestimmen!

In the great and vexed question of the relation between the Renaissance and antiquity, one of the most fruitful approaches now is to study the kind of relation that exists in individual cases. This study is, however, complicated by differences in cultural forms. Thus Renaissance painting, one of the most important foci of the later age, could be based very little on direct knowledge of its ancient prototypes? Therefore the student of Renaissance painting interested in antique relationships must find his clues in other forms, notably sculpture and the art treatise. The latter source is the more relevant in that Renaissance neo-classicism in general is to some extent a conscious theorizing attitude. Further, any particular borrowing from the antique in the art treatise is meaningful and is likely to be subtle, for there are no ancient art treatises and the Renaissance must employ its frequent scheme of transference from another form.

Two such borrowings are here discussed. The demonstration of debt to antiquity is accompanied by suggestions of the change made by each borrower, and reasons for it in the new treatise's relations to the art and taste of its own time. Specific points of connection such as these borrowings allow us to see with some precision the kind and degree of relation to antiquity that exists in the art theory of the Renaissance and, by implication, in its art.

The earlier of the two works to be discussed is Alberti's *Treatise on Painting*, written in a Latin and an Italian version in Florence be-

tween 1428 and 1436. Its immediate and conscious function is clearly pedagogic. In numerous asides dwelling complacently on the method adopted, the emphasis is always on what it is right for the student to learn. One cannot become a good painter without this; *a* is the step in instruction which must come before *b*?³

One instrument of the pedagogy is the striking orderliness of arrangement. The framework of ideas demonstrates a strict and functional balance of elements each of which is rationally bounded, inclusive and exclusive. In the Latin version, now much less widely known than the Italian, each of the three books has an explanatory title of one word: The Rudiments, Painting, The Painter.⁴ The first deals with the techniques of geometry and optics in their application to painting, and especially to perspective drawing. The second briefly surveys the history of painting and then details the three parts of painting in terms of form, i.e., *qua* drawing and coloring on a plane surface. The third deals with the way in which the painter should conduct his professional life. Sentences at the transitional points indicate the systematic relationships between each of these; for example, at the end of the first book Alberti apologizes for its inevitable groundwork difficulty, predicting greater pleasure for the student in the section which is to follow.⁵

So exact and elaborate a scheme as this is of course not practical pedagogy. For a painter's apprentice to learn first all the theory of optics and then all the theory of drawing, as it is set down here, would be like learning all the nouns of a language before any verbs. One would be prevented from making a sentence or a picture until the course was finished. There are review grammars which arrange nouns and verbs in separate sections for convenient reference by the advanced student who has once learned them, and this is somewhat the method of Cennino Cennini. Such a method was typical of Alberti's background and loosely resembles him, but he still was able to say: "I am the first to treat painting."⁶

The reference-grammar form, in fact, differs from his in another essential way. In Cennini one may look up any doubtful point that arises; it refers to grinding colors, preparing gesso, applying gold, to dozens of particular practical matters. There is no real concrete instruction to be had from Alberti's treatise, while Cennini's is still used today by students of technique, who properly ignore Alberti.⁷

Thus Alberti's pedagogy is useless on a second count. It is systematic and it is theoretical. Its standpoint is not practical; it takes an abstract and intellectual view. Cennini's work is only a late example of a long line of receipt books,⁸ but a book on painting based on theory is a new phenomenon.

It corresponds to new phenomena in Alberti's entire artistic ambient. From the preface to the Italian version of Alberti's treatise his close companionship with contemporary artists may be learned. He is the personal friend of Brunelleschi and Donatello, and the admirer of a group of artists whom today we still consider the most important of those years. Moreover, he does not simply single them out as the best contemporary artists, but specifically praises them as having renewed the greatness lost to art since antiquity.⁹ They are, then, revolutionary in their works as against their medieval predecessors of the generations before, as the treatise itself is. And their revolutionary point of view takes the same direction as his.

The correspondence in point of view between Alberti's book on painting and the work of contemporary artists is a subject needing general investigation. Only one aspect of it may be referred to here. The aspiration of painters to be considered practitioners of a liberal art is well known as characteristic of this century. Like geometers and astronomers, they wished to be thought of primarily as thinkers and calculators rather than as direct dusty craftsmen. From being manual laborers they wished to become professional men,¹⁰ from being chisellers and draughts-

men, experimenters with direct responsibility. This attitude is the germ of the more recent view that the validity of art depends on the artist's individual expression. In the sixteenth century the professional status of Italian artists was nearly established; in the late fifteenth Leonardo's furious and ingenious demands for it were still needed.¹ Yet in 1435 Alberti assumed that to deal with painting was to deal with scientific principles and philosophical bases while omitting technique, and implied by this approach that the artist's new status was an accomplished situation. In the Middle Ages, when the painter was inexorably a craftsman, a specialized work on painting as a philosophical discipline was impossible. To the world at large the change was gradual; Alberti's reversal at one stroke means that he was working among very restricted revolutionary circles.

Rejecting their immediate traditional sources, Alberti's artists take the antique as their novel historical standpoint from which to move forward. They continue, he says, the process unfortunately cut off by the interval of a thousand years.² Thus, unlike neo-classicists who retain a static situation by copying, they go on with an evolution in which, like Brunelleschi with his dome, they may advance beyond their putative forebears.³

If Alberti's program for the artists is that they should take up antiquity when they throw off their own heritage, one may wonder whether he does this himself in his book. The discovery of a particular ancient source for an aspect of the treatise now allows investigation of the point in a concrete instance.

There could be no source for the content of Alberti's statements, since they reflect so contemporaneous a situation -- thus differing from Ghiberti's medieval copybook.⁴ It is the structural system of Alberti's work whose source is ascertainable and meaningful. Alberti filled an ancient framework-device with a content not known in antiquity, the theory

of painting. He used old tools to survey a territory still virgin but which the mind could bring to order and cultivation by its familiar set of ideas.

The form in question is the isagogic treatise, which classical scholars have studied with reference particularly to Horace's *Art of Poetry*. The most recent contributors to the discussion hold that Horace's epistle is systematically divided into three sections: On poetic content, On poetic technique, On the poet.¹⁵ The correspondence of these with Alberti's Rudiments (technique), Painting (content), and Painter (poet) is indubitable.

The same students, however, observe further that Horace's *Art of Poetry* is only the most conspicuous example of a literary form applied not only to poetry but also to such various disciplines as music, philosophy and medicine. Devised originally by the Stoics, it becomes a method for giving theoretical status to a technique.¹⁶ Its method is didactic and elementary. Because of its non-practical bias it is suitable also for the cultivated or interested amateur. The division into sections on the *ars* and *artifex* is its characteristic hallmark. Neoptolemos and Horace, applying the form to poetry, do not evolve a functional framework in their own works, but assume a familiar convention for educational purposes, and this must be true of Alberti also.¹⁷

One aspect of the situation pointed up by this association is the position of the amateur. The ancient isagogic treatises could be read either by craftsmen interested in being philosophical about their work, or by the interested spectator viewing the craft in its most general lines. It is thus an instrument for approximating two groups of people toward the same viewpoint on a subject. The books were wanted by amateurs: the Pisones who asked Horace's advice were amateur poets, and Alberti informs us that he was an amateur painter.¹⁸ In fifteenth-century society this again implies the growing professionalization of the

artist, whose relation to art approaches his patron's. The patron commissions paintings more and more out of an intellectual and personal interest, and a parallel situation obtains among painters. When the painter devises themes to his own liking, as Brunelleschi with his views of city squares made to exemplify his perspective theory, he is commissioning himself, and when Vasari, Michael Angelo, or members of the Venetian circle to be mentioned receive a commission, the intellectual details of its iconographic plan are more and more removed from the hands of the patron or his humanist into those of the painter, who calls them "*invenzioni*."¹⁹ As might be expected, this is connected with a change in the source of artists' incomes. If art has less a practical than an intellectual value, the painter cannot, as in the Middle Ages, put up a sign like a barber. He is a person whose special talents and training do not assure him a livelihood in return, but are valuable. Hence the painter becomes "protected" by the official leaders of society and the intellectual or snobbish rich, Cassiano del Pozzo or the Cardinale di San Giorgio. In this way the painter-courtier joins the familiar and long established poet-courtier, and comes to share his attitudes. This is a practical result of the yearning to be a liberal artist, and itself in turn accentuates the process.

Alberti and the ancient isagogic writers both had the two-fold audience. He, though, made the dual direction of his statements even more explicit in a way to which the early Renaissance was especially sensitive, the use of the Latin and Italian languages. Italian, originally an irregular and undignified tongue, had gradually been invading a wider and wider sphere of national culture. Alberti contributed to this tendency by writing an Italian as well as a Latin version of his treatise, the Latin one dedicated to a Gonzaga, the Italian one to Brunelleschi.²⁰ But the index of the coalescing of attitudes is that the content of the two texts is identical. In Alberti's special situation it was possible to write a book for a noble-amateur and a craft-technical audience and find readers for it in both groups. This epoch-making possibility is

part of a general revolutionary situation, whose key is that the treatise is in fact the very first work on a theoretical science in any modern language.²¹ When the people who knew only the vernacular graduated to intellectual equality with those who knew Latin, they did not borrow their trappings, like *nouveaux riches* in top hats, but instead showed clear understanding of their own solid functionality by enlarging the scope of their own speech to the new requirements. For their introduction into a new society and a new way of thinking the artists of Alberti's circle used a new idiom: technological Italian.

The re-use of the isagogic form, then, documents Alberti's way of formidable classicism and his way of resuming ancient methods on new planes, and through these documents his sense for structural system, his theoretical bias, his wish to make artists intellectuals and to coalesce patrons' and artists' attitudes, and his earnest pedagogy. But it may be said that any art theory of the Renaissance uses antique sources. How this is true, and the greater importance of the extreme variety of those sources and their use, may be observed from the study of another such correlation. This involves the important and neglected *Dialogue on Painting* of Paolo Pino, the first book of art criticism published in Venice (1548).

Even the difference in titles suggests at once a change from Alberti's point of view. Alberti's *Treatise*, even apart from its isagogic character, has a theoretical precision lacking in dialogues. The tradition of the latter, back to Cicero and Lucian and further to Plato, requires a discursive and conversational system of argument, disorderly and generally inconclusive, an essay not entirely serious. Pino's *Dialogue* fits these terms. It opens with praise of Venetian women's beauty, suggests slight dramatic contrasts in the positions and characters of the speakers, and maintains a mood of light-hearted amusement. Strict hewing to a line of theoretical propositions is hardly to be expected from a work with a conscious style and tone of this sort. Attitude and

context dispute it too strongly. Indeed Pino's specific references to Alberti are hostile, and, pointed at his emphasis on technical bases and devices, imply a rejection of his systematic approach to the problems?²³

Leon Battista Alberti Fiorentino pittore non menomo fece un trattato di pittura in lingua latina, in qual è piu di Matematica, che di pittura, anchor che prometti il contrario.

Men è utile operare il velo, over quadratura, ritrovata da Leon Battista, cosa inscepida, e di poca costruttione.

By contrast with the mathematical derivation of Alberti's definition of painting, as the cross-section of the visible world, Pino's has a literary association: "la pittura è propria poesia, cioè inventione..."²⁴ Emphasis is laid here on the need for evolving an imaginative subject matter, an appropriate individual allegory parallel to those traditional in poetry. Students may here recall the difficulties involved in Giorgione's subject matter.

The concept *inventione* also gives the clue to the antique source of Pino's program. Of course he divides the process of painting into elements, like all the theorists, in a passage whose arbitrary definiteness seems prosy and ludicrous in its context of fanciful vagaries. In his scheme painting has three elements, of which the first and the third are subdivided, so that the whole looks like this?²⁵

		giudicio
	disegno	circunscriptione
		pratica
		composizione
pittura	inventione	proprietà
	colorire	prontezza
		lume

On Albertian principles such a scheme is confused and meandering. Thus, among the four parts of *disegno*, *giudicio* is explained as original native talent, which hardly comes under the usual meaning of *disegno*. *Composi-*

zione, on the other hand, is defined only as the sum and combination of the other three, which would seem to make its relation with *disegno* as a whole obscure, if not to make them identical. The parts of *colorire*, while each valid, all belong to different systems of evaluation, *proprietà* being an iconographical standard, *prontezza* an aspect of the painter's personal character, and *lume* a formal constituent. Their interrelationship and their combination to make up *colorire* is clearly more verbal than systematic. All these values were felt necessary for various reasons, but as a system they are merely garbled. Hence this set of terms is not so inconsistent with Pino's general discursive tone as might at first glance be supposed.

There is however, a simple explanation for the framework: it had to be fitted to a pre-existing scheme. The conventional antique classification of the art of rhetoric is as follows: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *pronuntiatio*.²⁶ The last two, however, are "really not permanent parts of rhetoric, but only of the rhetoric of spoken address."²⁷ In medieval rhetoric they disappeared for the most part.²⁸ Thus the numerical equation with Pino can be posited without unduly forcing the issue.

A satisfactory parallel between *elocutio* and *colorire* might be drawn by considering each as an embellishment for a product structurally complete without it. But a verbal analogy can be made much more directly. The familiar "colors of rhetoric" which in medieval theory engulfed and monopolized the whole discipline, are strictly regarded as a section of *elocutio*, and as its most important part; hence, in the medieval transformation traditional to Pino, as its equivalent.²⁹ The *elocutio-colorire* parallel may then more simply and with equal validity be taken as a *colores-colorire* parallel. In the light of this the *inventio-inventionione* parallel may also be taken as established.

Dispositio and *disegno* likewise have a general parallel function as

the structural elements in the two arts, and general verbal likeness in that the most important element of *disegno* is *composizione*. The clinching identity between them, however, because the most exact and literal, is that each of them is organized in four parts. We have seen that divisionism concerns Pino closely at this point, and here again there is care to duplicate a number rather unusual in these schemata. Since there is no particular parallel among the parts individually, it seems to have sufficed that their number should be correct. The four rhetorical subdivisions (*exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *peroratio*) are those used by Cicero and traditionally in the Middle Ages, though their contortions for re-use at that time are often as remarkable and as awkward as in Pino.

This identification results in a curious situation. Where Alberti's neo-classicism is formed as an organic continuance, Pino's is far more slavish and unintelligent. This is characteristic of Pino's different point of view. Alberti's account of ancient painting is interrupted with the sudden. "But we are not here to recount histories like Pliny, but to construct anew the art of painting!"³¹ Pino's far longer peroration, on the other hand, is full of classical names not too well assimilated and winding anecdotes³²

Yet if in Pino painting and rhetoric are ill-joined, connecting them involves the positive suggestion that they are closely allied in actual fact, in a world of stylistic preferences that lies beyond the fanciful constructions of the dialogue. The literary connotation of *inven-tione* has been referred to already. In *composizione*, Pino makes use of Alberti's conception involving the careful building up of forms, but adds to it, as other sections of *disegno*, elements of personality, luck, tricks of the trade and good taste -- "persuasion," so to speak, in its technical meaning in the rhetorician's jargon.³³ If *colorire* passes from pigmentation to include part of what color means in rhetoric, the inclusion in it of the iconographic *proprietà* seems more natural. Such a

method of reasoning is well suited to Pino's work, which, as in the classic definition of rhetoric, depends more on persuasion than on proof. In this sense the very demonstration that painting is rhetoric is rhetorical. Again the definition by which "la pittura è propria poesia" immediately makes Pino's work an early, unrecognized member of the *ut pictura poesis* group of rhetorical writings. As has been noted by students of this genre, the *inventione-disegno-colorire* formula is one of its hallmarks.³⁴

This set of associations, moreover, seems to dominate Venetian art theory of the mid-sixteenth century, and Pino's treatise as a whole presents us with much wider implications for the taste of Venetian painting in the ambient of the mature Titian. The minor corollaries of this situation are many; one that is conspicuous may be mentioned. One of Alberti's major works is his treatise *On the Family*; it involves a moral code and shows again his emphasis on forms of pedagogy. In the *Treatise on Painting* he propounds³⁵ a modest aloofness and decorum in matters involving the nude that does not correspond very closely to Pino's point of view, as suggested briefly above. One of the latter's interlocutors concludes an anatomical discourse by remarking: "Vi se ricciava l'appetito, e?"³⁶ Such a sly frankness recalls the Venus of Urbino, and in this connection there is the report in a letter of 1543 from the Venetian by adoption Cardinal Giovanni della Casa, to his patron and Titian's, Cardinal Alfonso Gonzaga:³⁷

Oltre di ciò ha Titian presso che fornita, per commesione di vostra Signoria reverendissima, una nuda, che faria venir il diavol adosso al cardinale San Silvestro; e quella che vostra Signoria reverendissima vide in Pesaro nelle camere de' signor duca d'Urbino e una teatina appresso a questa.

We have seen in a single instance how Alberti's translation of antiquity employs structure by system, while Pino's employs structure by charm. Where Alberti associates painting with mathematics, Pino associ-

ates it with poetry. A literary style which prefers suggestion and implication to exposition and definition is a parallel factor of importance. The conventional Florentine-Venetian antithesis of form and color, which certainly contains a nucleus of truth, urgently requires the more precise definition in which these writings will be a principal aid.

NOTES

- * This paper is an offshoot from a general study of Alberti and contemporary art, suggested to me by Professor Lionello Venturi. A comment of Professor Karl Lehmann's proved to be necessary to its proper conclusion. Dr. Bluma Trell kindly looked over the translations of ancient passages and terms, though the responsibility for them remains mine of course. I owe a particular debt to Miss Esther Gordon's inexhaustible generosity and strict sense of English.

NOTES

1. "Above all we shall have not only to investigate philosophical systems as to their logical structure and basic principles, but also to pay much more attention to the aesthetic principles which concern the structure of thoughts" (D. Frey, *Gotik und Renaissance*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 29-30). In this passage Frey is seeking to resolve logically a conflicting relation between Alberti and Ficino.
2. A reversed example is rhetoric, a vital aspect of ancient literature but in the Renaissance only an interesting minor literary type. The second part of this paper will revert to that fact.
3. L. B. Alberti's *Kleinere kunsttheoretische Schriften*, ed. H. Janitschek (*Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, XI), Vienna, 1877, pp. 49, 85, 99, 101, 153-57.
4. *Ibid.*, p. vi (Janitschek's introduction), cf. p. 49.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 163. His specific phrase, that he is the first who has "dared to introduce it to literature" (*ardito commendare alle lettere*) is suggestive of the general shift from manual to mental emphasis that he documents.
7. Notably D. V. Thompson; cf. his edition of Cennini's *Libro dell' arte*, New Haven, 1932, Preface.
8. Cf. J. v. Schlosser, *La letteratura artistica*, Florence, 1935, pp. 21 ff. The likeness of Cennini to a receipt-book on wool-making is notable (published by A. Doren, *Studien aus der Florentiner Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Stuttgart, I, 1901, pp. 484-93).
9. Alberti, *ed. cit.*, pp. 47-49.
10. This characteristically involves, as a minor symptom, disdain for material craftsmanship and beauty of materials as a valuable factor in a painting. It is exemplified not simply by rejection of the Cenninian type of technical exposition, but positively at such points as Alberti's remarks against gold backgrounds (*ibid.*, p. 139). Here again he agrees with the practice of advanced painters only. On more general implications of Alberti on gold, cf. L. Venturi, "La critique d'art en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance: I. Alberti", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Ser. V, 5, 1922, p. 331.
11. *The literary works*, ed. J. P. Richter, 2nd ed., London etc., 1939, I, secs. 12, 19, 23, 36, 37 etc. On the question generally, cf. Richter's Introduction, pp. 20 ff. In the latter part of the century Marsilio Ficino neatly combined these ideas of rebirth and liberal arts when he said: "It is undoubtedly a golden age which has restored to the light the liberal arts

- that had almost been destroyed: Grammar, poetry, rhetoric, painting, architecture, sculpture, music." But Alberti's contemporary Lorenzo Valla hedged on the latter of the two issues, referring to: "those arts which come close to the liberal, painting, carving, modelling, building" which like letters had decayed and are now again reviving. (L. Valla, *De linguae latinae elegantia*, Lyons, 1538, p. 8; the work was written in 1444. Both passages quoted by W. K. Ferguson, "Humanist Views of the Renaissance," *American Historical Review*, XLV, 1939, pp. 25, 26). Cf. Filippo Villani earlier, as quoted by J. v. Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte...ausgewählte Texte* (*Quellenschriften zur Kunstgeschichte*, N. F., VII), Vienna, 1896, p. 371.
12. Alberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.
13. "Chi mai si duro o invido non lodasse Pippo architecto vedendo qui structura si grande, erta sopra e cieli, ampla da coprire chon sau ombra tucti e popoli toscani, facta senza alcuno ajuto di travimenti o di copia di legname, quale artificio certo, se io ben giudicho, come a questi tempi era incredibile potersi, cosi forse appresso gli antichi non fu saputo nè conosciuto." (*loc. cit.*; Who could ever be so harsh or envious as not to praise Phil the architect, seeing such a big structure here, lifted above the skies, sizable enough to cover all the Tuscan peoples with its shadow, made with no aid from scaffolding or large amount of lumber — craftsmanship which if I judge rightly was certainly not believed possible in this age, and by the same token was perhaps not known or familiar among the ancients.) Of perspective Brunelleschi's first biographer, toward the end of the century, noted that it had perhaps been known to the ancients, but that no trace of it remained (*Le vite di Brunelleschi*, ed. K. Frey, Berlin, 1887, p. 67).
14. The technical and theoretical sections of Ghiberti's *Commentarii* are not original and have no special application to the contemporary situation. They are, on the contrary, copied in large sections, and for the most part not very critically, from ancient and especially medieval scientific works. (Fragmentary evidence is assembled by L. Olschki, *Geschichte der neu-sprachlichen wissenschaftlichen Literatur*, Heidelberg, 1919, I, pp. 88-109, by J. Mesnil, "Die Kunstlehre der Frührenaissance im Werke Masaccios," *Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg* 1925-26, Leipzig, 1928, p. 137, note 31; and by J. von Schlosser, *Leben und Meinungen des Florentinischen Bildhauers Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Basel, 1941, pp. 167 ff., especially p. 181. Schlosser upholds an opposite conclusion, but his objection to Olschki's "overemphasis" seems unsupported (*La letteratura artistica*, p. 91). The study of G. Ten Doesschate, "Over de bronnen van de 3de commentaar van L. Ghiberti," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, XLVII, 1932, pp. 432 ff., was unavailable to me.)

15. *περὶ ποιήσεως, περὶ ποιημάτων, περὶ ποιητοῦ*. In the nineteenth century no systematic organization of Horace's treatise was successfully shown, and it was thought to be consciously wayward or else arranged according to its prosody. A systematic division into two parts, the first on poetry, the second on the poet, was first fully demonstrated in 1905. (See E. Norden, "Die Composition und Literaturgattung der Horazischen Epistula ad Pisones," *Hermes*, XL, 1905, 481 ff. This study also summarizes the previous position.) The section on poetry was held to have two large subdivisions dealing respectively with the elements (*inventio, ordo*, etc.) and the types (epic, drama) of poetry. It had been traditionally known that Horace made much use of Neoptolemos, a Hellenistic theorist whose works were lost. But in 1919 C. Jensen published, from papyri, fragments of a polemic work by a minor ancient writer, Philodemos, whose quotations from and arguments against Neoptolemos make the latter's views fairly clear ("Neoptolemos und Horaz," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Berlin, 1918 (for 1919), Nr. 14. It thus became clear that the organization which Norden had thought implicit in Horace was explicit in his source Neoptolemos. Norden's arrangement, however, was altered in that a) the two large subdivisions of the poetry section are autonomous, so that the entire system is tri-partite under the headings listed at the beginning of this footnote, and b) the meaning of the two first headings is differently interpreted. *ἡ ποίησις*, Norden's "elements," is called "content" (*Stoff*), and *τὰ ποιήματα* Norden's "types," is called "form." Jensen does not say why Norden is wrong, and indeed derives his definitions less from Horace than from Neoptolemos. With respect to the latter they seem to be well grounded, and Jensen was strictly followed by A. Rostagni (*L'arte poetica di Orazio*, Turin, 1930). More recently, however, O. Immisch has expressed the view that the definitions do not fit Horace very well, and has indeed observed marked weaknesses in Jensen's position ("Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst," *Philologus*, Supplementband XXIV, Heft 3, 1932, pp. 10-20). He evolves, for Horace, the formula: "Das Dichten (*ἡ ποίησις*); Die Dichtwerke (*τὰ ποιήματα*)."¹ Plainly the exact content of Horace's sections is not crucial for Alberti's arrangements in *Della Pittura*, which correspond generally with either of the latter two interpretations.
16. Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 508 ff; Immisch, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
17. Between 1421 and 1424 Leonardo Bruni wrote an *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae*, and he defines the term by saying that he will present the discipline of morals in the way "quae graeci isagogicon appellant, idest quasi introductionem ad evidentiam quandam eius disciplinae, quo paratior ad illam percipiendam queas accedere" (the way that the Greeks call isagogic, that is, essentially an introduction toward some clarification, of that subject of study, by which you can more readily come to comprehending it). In the body of the work, however, he pre-

- serves only the name, and does not adopt the isagogic form. As might be expected, in the extension of the type to include ethics the *ars-artifex* program is not practicable. The work, then, while suggesting the great breadth of applicability in the idea, does not show the re-articulation of an intimately felt ancient form that appears in Alberti (L. Bruni Aretino, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. H. Baron, 1928, pp. 20-41; cf. Tocco, "L'Isagogicon moralis disciplinae di Leonardo Bruni aretino," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1892, pp. 157-69).
18. Alberti, *op. cit.*, p. 97. In a remote context Alberti speaks of painting as a recreation for aristocratic youth like hunting and dancing ("Delle Comodità e delle Incomodità delle Lettere," *Opuscoli Morali*, 1568, p. 150).
 19. Vasari's *Literarischer Nachlass*, ed. K. Frey, Berlin, 1923, I, pp. 27, 121, 312; *Le vite di Brunelleschi*, p. 67 ff.
 20. Alberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 47.
 21. L. Olschki, *op. cit.*, p. 59, cf. p. 52 ff.
 22. P. Pino, *Dialogo di Pittura*, Venice, 1548. The significance of the book was suggested by L. Venturi, "La critique d'art en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Ser. 5, IX, (1924) pp. 39 ff.; and the contents briefly summarized by J. v. Schlosser, *op. cit.*, 1935, pp. 297 ff. Through the courtesy of Professor Venturi and Miss Margaretta Salinger, a photostatic copy of this rare work is now in the library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 23. Pino, *op. cit.*, fols. 2 v., 16 v. "Leon Battista Alberti the Florentine, not the least of painters, wrote a treatise on painting in Latin, which is more on mathematics than on painting though it promises the contrary." "It is still less useful to work with the veil or squaring-off, discovered by Leon Battista, a trifling thing and of little practical use."
 24. *Ibid.*, fol. 16 v.; Cf. 10 r., 15 v.-16 r. "Painting is in fact poetry, that is to say invention."
 25. *Ibid.*, fols. 15 r. ff.
 26. D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*, New York, 1922, pp. 27-31; C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*, New York, 1928, pp. 303-05 (an admirable Synoptic Index), and other cross-references there cited.
 27. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
 28. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 305.
 29. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-05, cf. pp. 143-4, 185-8. Typical of the high medieval theorists discussed by Baldwin is Geoffroi di Vinsauf (fl. 1300): "After bowing

to the ancient *inventio* and *dispositio*, neither of which is in point and neither handled as a process of composing. Geoffroi devotes most of his book to the rhetorical means of dilation. This is the aim of the *colores*" (pp. 187-88). Nicolaus de Orbellis (fl. 1450) supplied these definitions of the trivium: "Grammatica loquitur; Dialectica vera docet; Rhetorica verba colorat" (quoted by Clark, *op. cit.*, n. 56). The allegories of Lady Rhetoric sometimes borrow metaphors from visual arts, as in Alain de Lille (Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 173) and Stephen Hawes (Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

30. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-04; cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

31. Alberti, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

32. Pino, *op. cit.*, fols. 11 v. ff.

33. Alberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.; Pino, *op. cit.*, fols. 15 r.-v.

34. Two historians of literature have noted the connection between this scheme for painting and ancient rhetoric in the course of their studies of the *ut pictura poesis* tradition; both have cited art writers later than Pino. It was observed in the case of Lucovico Dolce's dialogue *L'Aretino* (Venice, 1557) by Samuel H. Monks (unpublished comment cited by R. W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis," *Art Bulletin*, XXII, 1940, Appendix 2, pp. 264-65) and in the cases of Dolce and du Fresnoy by W. G. Howard ("Ut Pictura Poesis," *Pub. Modern Language Assn.*, XXIV, 1909, pp. 52, 58, 60, 75).

These two basic articles by Howard and Lee deal with later developments of the type in terms of its formal evolution and its evidence for general art theory respectively. Lee's Appendix 2 is the most detailed discussion of my specific theme, and in it occurs the remark: "Dolce is the first critic to use this threefold division, which corresponds almost exactly to the first three divisions of the art of rhetoric -- *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* -- among the Roman rhetoricians" (p. 264). Lee's passing over of Pino, who of course used the division before Dolce, merely exemplifies Pino's obscurity today, though Schlosser had discussed his use of the scheme (*op. cit.*, p. 208). But if we may accept the hypotheses of Schlosser and Panofsky, Dolce is so far from being the first to use it that even Pino has three predecessors (See Appendix below).

35. Alberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-21.

36. Pino, *op. cit.*, fol. 8.

APPENDIX

PINO'S RENAISSANCE PARALLELS

Three Renaissance art treatises earlier than Pino have been spoken of as exhibiting the transference to painting, characteristic of him, of the rhetorical schema *inventio-dispositio-colores*. They are:

1. Alberti, to whom Panofsky attributes (unpublished opinion quoted by Lee, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 265) an "indirect adaptation (of it) long before Dolce's direct adaptation." This adaptation would be evolved as follows: "*inventio* being partly included by Alberti under *compositio* (where he speaks of arrangement, decorum, etc.) and mentioned once, in its own name, at the end of his book in connection with his advice concerning literary knowledge; *dispositio*, the preliminary outline of the orator's discourse, being represented also by *compositio* which includes the indication of how 'le parti delle cose vedute si porgono insieme in pictura',... but also by *circonscriptione*, the outline drawing through which the disposition of figures in a picture would chiefly be made and *elocutio*, the actual performance of the oration, by *receptione di lumi*, the rendering of the picture." The definition here of the terms in rhetoric needs some revision: *dispositio* is not the "preliminary outline" but the systematic construction of the speech and the regular division into parts of the whole text, and *elocutio* is not the "actual performance," as one would suppose from a literal use of the word, but style and superficial ornamentation -- the fifth part of ancient rhetoric, *pronuntiatio*, is the actual performance. In general it seems clear that it is not intended here to say that Alberti used this scheme systematically, but rather suggested that he made use of fragments at convenient points. However, the points that are cited do belong to systems in Alberti, though quite other ones. This procedure and attitude toward a re-use of the antique seem to me uncharacteristic of Alberti, whose strong sense of completeness, correlation and function I have tried to prove. Hence it would seem improbable for this reason as well as because Alberti's view of painting is not "rhetorical," that he had the scheme in mind. Panofsky's view is just to the extent that Alberti, as a good classicist, inevitably absorbed somewhere or other all the well-known propositions of antique theoretical writing. It may appear, then, that the view is correct if Panofsky's word "indirectly" is given great weight.

2. Pomponius Gauricus, in whose *De Sculptura* (Florence, 1504) Schlosser found an association with ancient rhetoric in some of the elaborate set of categories correctly labelled pedantic (*La letteratura artistica*, p. 205). Gauricus used the terms *inventio* and *dispositio* in his

theory of bronze sculpture along with many others collected from a number of heterogeneous ancient sources.

3. The obscure Florentine writer Francesco Lancilotti used a fourfold division of *Disegno*, *Colorito*, *Composizioni*, and *Inventioni* (*Ibid.*, p. 197) in his poetic *fractato di Pictura* (Rome, 1509). Lancilotti, unlike the other two theorists, is a clear precursor, and the fact that his book is in verse emphasizes its rhetorical connections. (Some of the numerous treatises on rhetoric written in the sixteenth century are in verse, notably Vida's, the most famous and least progressive). Yet the extreme obscurity of this work, and the fact that the scheme deviates further from the ancient arrangement than Pino's does, exclude Lancilotti as a direct source for the later applications.

Small wonder after this that, on reaching Pino, Schlosser speaks of his use of the formula as "secondo le già ben note e fisse categorie" (*ibid.*, p. 208). The true situation lies between this and Lee's "Dolce is the first."

Besides the use of the formula, the accomplished literary style of Pino's treatise suggests that he did not write it alone but rather with the aid of some professional writer. So also perhaps do the similes from poetry, which may seek to establish a rule in painting by citing one familiar in poetry to writer and reader, and which also implement the rhetorician's attitude (fol. 16 v.):

Et perchè la pittura è propria poesia, cioè inventioni, la qual fa apparere quello, che non è, però util sarebbe osservare alcuni ordini eletti dagli altri poeti che scrivono, i quali nelle loro comedie, et altre compositioni vi introducono la brevità, il che debbe osservare il pittore nelle sue inventioni, & non voler restringer tutte le fatture del mondo in un quadro...

(And since poetry is in fact painting, that is to say invention, which makes what is not seem to be, it would be useful to observe some rules set down by the other poets that write, who in their comedies and other compositions show brevity. And the painter should follow this in his compositions, and not want to push all the products of the world into one picture.)

This estimable advice may seem offered in a somewhat awkward and roundabout way if we do not know that in literary criticism it was most commonplace. Thus, in an essay by Tasso it is expressed somewhat more neatly, while the introduction of a slightly different metaphor from painting gives it a special interest ("Lezione del Sig. T. Tasso sopra il sonetto LIX di M. G. della Casa." *Opere di G. della Casa*, Florence, 1707, p. 175):

Ma non s'aspetti già alcuno da me in questa materia un lungo e pieno discorso: che solo tanto dirò, quanto nella brevità del tempo prescrittomi, e nella considerazione

d'un solo sonetto, potrò raccogliere; e farò a guisa di Pittore, che ristretto fra i termini d'una picciola tela, con brevi linee solamente i lontani de' gli edificij e de' paesi accenna, e il rimanente all'imaginazione de' riguardanti rimette.

(But no one should expect from me a long and full speech on this matter, for I shall only say as much as I can bring together in the shortness of the time allowed me and the consideration of a single sonnet, and I shall do as a painter does, who, constricted between the borders of a little canvas, merely indicates buildings and landscapes in the distance and consigns the rest to the imagination of the lookers-on). Other remarks in this same essay suggest the absorption of critical criteria from each art to the other, or perhaps only the attempt to find analogies between the criteria proper to each.

As for Pino's specific advisor, it would be rash to do more than suggest the general area from which he might appear. Among the countless books of rhetoric and poetic produced in Italy in the sixteenth century (see C. Baldwin, *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice*, New York, 1939; J. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899, 1908, and reprints) Bernardino Daniello's *La poetica* (Venice, 1536) is outstanding for its affability and originality. Of the formula he writes (p. 52):

L'inventione...o vogliam dire ritrovamento; la dispositione poi, over ordine di esse cose; et finalmente la forma dello scrivere ornatamente le già ritrovate et disposte. che (latinamente parlando) elocutione si chiama; et che noi volgare, leggiadro et ornato parlare chiameremo.

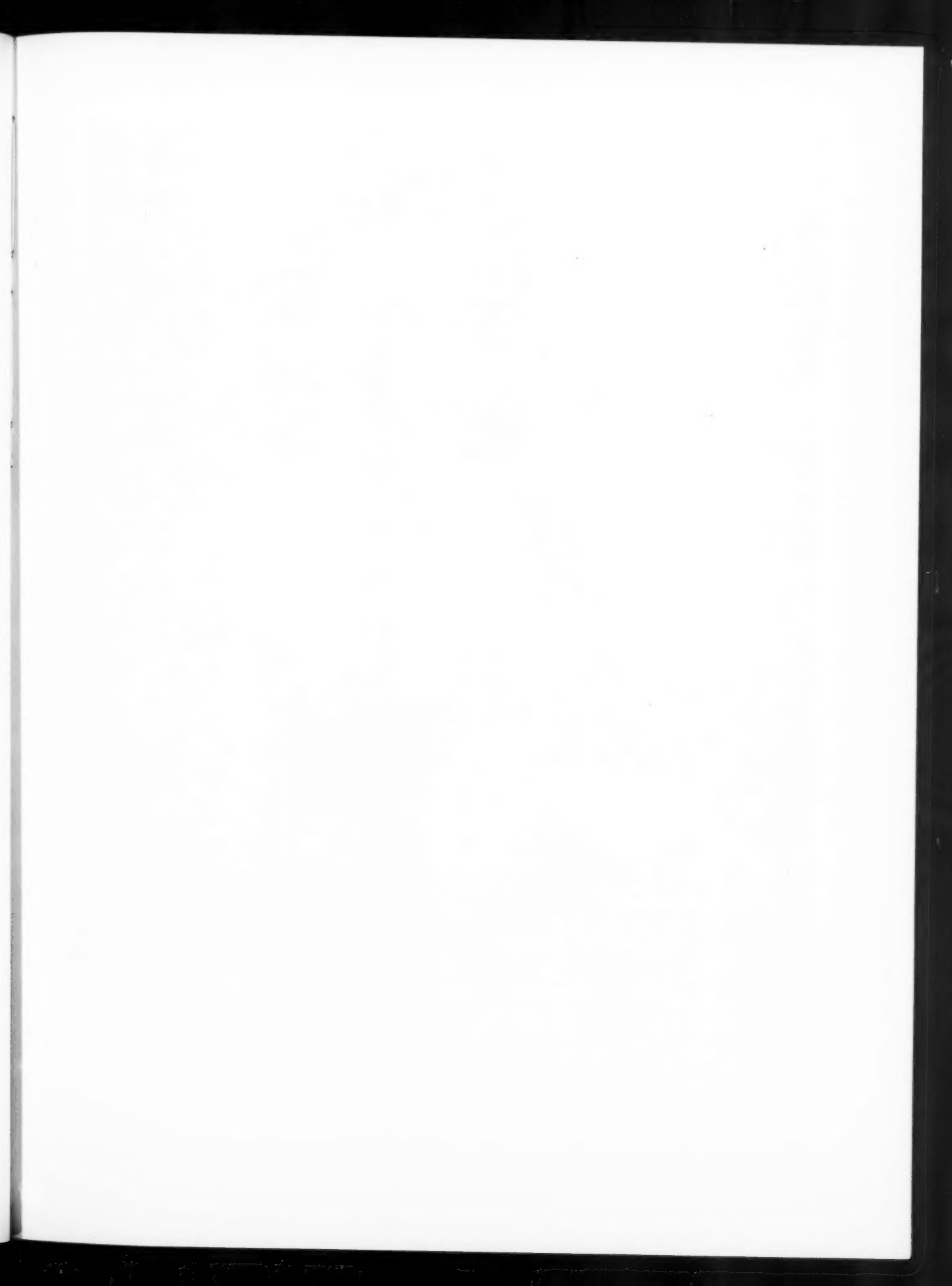
(The invention...or what we may call discovery; then the disposition, or order of the things; and finally the manner of writing elaborately the things already discovered and ordered, which, to use a Latin term, is called *elocutio*, and which we in the vernacular call pretty and elaborate speech).

Lee (Appendix 2) cites this passage, and at several points in his study points out the parallelism between Daniello's views on poetry and Dolce's on painting (see his p. 237 and note 193). To his quotations one may be added which makes the analogy a little tighter and more literal, and which comes from the discussion of *inventione* immediately after the passage cited above (it has been quoted by Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53):

Anzi essergli (the poet) concesso ampia licenza (si come anchora è al dipintore, di fingere molte e diverse cose, diversamente) di potere di tutte quelle cose...ragionare et iscriverse.

(Even more, to the poet is granted full license -- as is also to the painter to imitate many and various things variously -- to discuss and write upon all those things).

On Daniello the most cogent remarks are those of W. Bullock ("The precept of plagiarism in the Cinquecento," *Modern Philology*, XXV, 1928, pp. 293-312).





*Il Ritratto di Gino Pietro Bellori
Autore delle Vite de Pittori
Dipinto da Carlo Maratti
e fatto a acqua forte dal Quadro Originale
appreso Tommaso Patch Pittore Inglese*

"THE INGENIOUS BELLORI"

A Biographical Study*

by Kenneth Donahue

I¹

"Bellori is not content simply to tabulate, as others do, the canvases and pictures made by the artists about whom he writes, but, using a new method, he describes them figure by figure, part by part; he makes erudite reflections concerning them and explains the allegories and fables in them, noting the artifice used in the actions of the figures and in the distribution of colors, and the force, expression, beauty, coloring, bizarreness, grace and other properties in which each excels. He does this in such a manner that from the very reading one can learn not only the exquisiteness and fineness of art but also the genius and different manners of the artists, besides the many eruditions which he brings out in the explanation of the paintings..."² This thorough and learned method, defined in the foregoing manner in a contemporary review of Giovanni Pietro Bellori's *Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*,³ together with his discriminating selection of only the most significant artists and works of art for discussion, is possibly Bellori's most signal contribution to the history of art. It both distinguishes his work from preceding and contemporary Lives of artists and at the same time makes it an excellent exemplification of that age of erudition which the middle of the seventeenth century initiated.⁴ The last half of the seventeenth century, during which all of Bellori's writings on contemporary art were completed, was no longer intensely creative as the first part of the century had been. It was, rather, concerned with the study of the past and the formulation of rules for rationally achieved perfection. It placed learning and intellect above nature, above sensation and to a great extent above metaphysical experience. During this time the professional scholar characteristically replaced the amateur in many fields of learning. Bellori, himself, is thrice exemplary of this,

being a professional antiquarian, professional connoisseur and one of the first professional scholars of contemporary art.

It is in keeping with this position that Bellori's method is scholarly and literary and that his judgments are predicted on the basis of a disinterested taste and a coherent artistic theory. It is likewise logical that he would have differed greatly from his predecessors, most of whom, from Ghiberti through Vasari and Baglione, had been practicing artists. Bellori thought of himself more as a Philostratus verbally recreating works of art for generations to come than as a Vasari recording the history of a style or as a Baglione tabulating facts about his contemporaries. While Bellori held the writings of Vasari in esteem, he was especially eager to distinguish himself from what he calls the "chroniclers" like Baglione and some of his closer contemporaries, who "indiscriminately wrote the lives of all those who used a brush or a chisel or piled stones of architecture."⁵ He consequently selected for his *Vite* only the twelve artists of the past half-century whom he judged most significant: Annibale and Agostino Carracci, Domenico Fontana, Barocci, Caravaggio, Rubens, Van Dyck, Duquesnoy, Domenichino, Lanfranco, Algardi and Nicolas Poussin, artists who are still recognized as outstanding. He chose their works with the same discrimination, restraining himself, as he said, "...to the most select and notable on the example of the most eloquent Lucian, who defines the excellence of Hippias, the architect, with the sole description of a bath which he erected."⁶ He thereupon discussed the selected artists and works of art so thoroughly that his *Vite* is today a primary literary source of knowledge of them. Furthermore, the classicist evaluation of them which Bellori formulated was perpetuated through the centuries of academic dominance of art and is still of considerable influence.

In "L'Idea del pittore, dello scultore e dell'architetto scelta dalle bellezze naturali superiore alla Natura", a discourse delivered before the Academy of St. Luke in 1664 and published as a preface to the *Vite* in 1672, Bellori definitively formulated the artistic theory of

seventeenth century classicism, a theory which he further elaborated and clarified in its application to the *Vite*. It is essentially an empirical idealism, as opposed to the metaphysical idealism of his Mannerist predecessors. While Bellori, in common with all idealist theorists, conceives of a work of art as an imitation of a more perfect idea in the mind of the artist, that Idea itself is for him based on observation of nature and is essentially a selection and perfection of the natural world by the rationally directed imagination. Bellori clarified his position in using this interpretation of the artistic Idea as a criterion of artistic styles. He condemned Naturalism, exemplified by Caravaggio and his followers, as slavish imitation of nature as it appears to the eye "without any Idea whatsoever," and likewise castigated Mannerism and the High Baroque style of many of his own contemporaries as the making of "fantastic fantasies of images" by artists who failed to leaven their imaginations with reason and with observation of nature. Conversely, Bellori found the perfect combination of art and nature in the remains of antiquity and in the painting of Raphael, of Annibale Carracci and in his own time of Domenichino and Nicolas Poussin.

Of possibly greater importance than his theoretical criteria, however, is Bellori's refined and disciplined taste, which qualified him as one of the outstanding connoisseurs of the seventeenth century. When the two conflict, it is Bellori's theory which concedes to his judgment of quality, as his discussions of the works of Caravaggio and Lanfranco, for example, repeatedly illustrate.

The importance of Bellori's writings to the study of seventeenth century art and artistic theory is evident from the foregoing remarks on his *Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*. But besides this work, Bellori published a descriptive work on the Raphael frescoes in the Vatican and more than twenty-five books on classical and Early Christian antiquities. In spite of this significant productivity only three brief biographical sketches of Bellori are extant, the most recent of which is that published by Mazzuchelli in 1760. The present investiga-

tion was consequently made to compile and verify the existent information concerning Bellori. It has been limited in scope to his life and non-antiquarian works and in source to the published material available in the United States, since European sources are not accessible at this time. Its intention is factual rather than interpretative.

II

Giovanni Pietro Bellori was the nephew of the antiquarian, Francesco Angeloni (-1652). Although exact documentary evidence has not been published, Mazzuchelli's conclusion that Bellori was born in Rome about 1615 seems quite acceptable.⁹ Little is known of his parents. A single reference to his father speaks of him only as "an honest and reliable man."¹⁰ Of his mother it is recorded only that she came from Umbria and was the sister of Angeloni. It was Angeloni rather than Bellori's parents who, having undertaken the rearing and teaching of Bellori from an early age,¹¹ was responsible for the environment in which he developed and the humanist orientation of his education.

Francesco Angeloni¹² was a creative writer, an antiquarian and a collector of antique and modern art; he was, further, secretary to the apostolic protonotary, Ippolito Aldobrandini (1591-1638). A native of Terni in Umbria, he spent much of his early life in North Italy and even after having become established in Rome maintained many connections with the north, including his membership in the Accademia degli Insensati of Perugia. As a writer Angeloni worked in a variety of media. Between 1611 and 1616 he had published in Venice a number of prose comedies and light social dialogues. During the years he was Bellori's tutor he published in Rome two major works of a quite different nature: a work on ancient coins, *L'Istoria Augusta*, in 1641 and a record of the history and hagiographic legends of his native town, the *Storia di Terni*, in 1646. It is quite possible that even during these years Angeloni continued his creative writing, since a number of his unpublished manuscripts of short

stories, comedies, amorous sketches and even of an opera, *Arcadia*, have been preserved.

Angeloni evinced his enthusiasm for both antiquities and contemporary art in his collection, familiarity with which was part of the daily experience of the young Bellori. The collection was described by the English tourist, John Evelyn, who visited Angeloni in 1645, in the following terms: "Being arrived at Rome on the 13th February, we were again invited to Signor Angeloni's study, where with greater leisure we surveyed the rarities, as his cabinet and medals especially, esteemed one of the best collections of them in Europe. He also showed us two antique lamps, one of them dedicated to Pallas, the other *Laribus Sacru'*, as appeared by their inscriptions; some old Roman rings and keys; the Egyptian Isis, cast in iron; sundry rare basso-relievos; good pieces of painting, principally the Christ of Correggio, with this painter's own face admirably done by himself; divers of both the Bassanos; a great number of pieces by Titian, particularly the triumphs; an infinity of natural rarities, dried animals, indian habits and weapons, shells, etc; divers very antique statues of brass; some lamps of so fine an earth that they resemble cornelians, for transparency and color; hinges of Corinthian brass, and one great nail of the same metal found in the ruins of Nero's golden house."¹³

Besides all this, there was Angeloni's collection of Annibale Carracci drawings. Vincenzo Vittoria in a letter of April 16th, 1679 wrote: "...there were in the aforementioned museum of Angeloni almost all the inventions of the (Farnese) gallery by the hand of Annibale, many many drawings of the compartments and a quantity of folio-size drawings of figures, *termini*, seated and standing nudes, mythological stories, medals and ornaments, which surely proclaim Annibale the inventor and director of the whole work. The same Angeloni thus writes of them in his history of medals: *One can really understand the fineness of the genius and the profundity of the knowledge of Annibale in the six hundred varied drawings in my possession, invented for the most part to decorate with pict-*

ures the famous Farnese gallery.¹⁴ Angeloni's admiration for Annibale and the other Bolognese¹⁵ was shared by the whole Aldobrandini circle in which the young Bellori was being trained. Monsignor Agucchi, major-domo of Pietro Aldobrandini, had formulated the program of the Farnese gallery for Annibale and, like the Aldobrandini, was later a patron of Domenichino.¹⁶ Angeloni's own friendship for Domenichino was referred to later by Bellori in his life of Domenichino as an "amistà grandissima."¹⁷

While it is evident from the foregoing notes that Angeloni would logically have fostered in Bellori an interest in collecting and interpreting antiquities, an admiration for the Bolognese and their stylistic progeny, and even ambitions in creative literature, their most important implication is that Angeloni brought the young Bellori into the center of the Roman intellectual and cultural life of the seventeenth century and provided him with the means and opportunities to develop his interests and talents.

It seems that, in addition to his other training, Bellori as a youth had studied painting under Domenichino. The writer of a marginal note in a copy of Giovanni Baglione's *Vite de' pittori*, a note usually attributed to Sebastiano Resta, comments: "...in painting he was a disciple of Domenico Zampieri called Domenichino, but his studies of scholarly matters and of the fine arts, among which he held poetry not the least, diverted him from painting..."¹⁸ Bellori, however, makes no reference to this tutelage in his life of Domenichino, although he does indicate an intimate knowledge of Domenichino's academy and its students. Unfortunately nothing of Bellori's painting is known today except one landscape engraved by his close friend, Gianangelo Canini (1617-1666), mentioned by Mariette.¹⁹ However, Skippon, who visited Bellori in 1665, noted, "he draws pictures and makes good landskips",²⁰ and as late as 1689 when Bellori was admitted to the French Academy he was listed as a painter.²¹

It was possibly as a painter that Bellori was first associated with

the Academy of St. Luke in Rome. As early as 1633, when Bellori was only about eighteen, his name appeared on a roster of the Academy along with those of Guercino, Claude Gellée, Errard, Romanelli, Giovanni Francia, Martino Lunghi and Salvator Rosa.²² Bellori's academic associates, Domenichino, Albani, Sacchi, Errard, and Poussin, all represented the classicist faction opposing the Baroque party of Pietro da Cortona and his followers. Whether or not Bellori was an active participant, the lively discussions in the academy during those early years must surely have formed a rich and vital part of the background for his later writings.

Bellori began his literary career neither as an antiquarian nor as a critic, but as a poet. His first published work is a group of four sonnets, a couplet and a quatrain prefaced to the first edition of Angeloni's *L'Istoria Augusta* in 1641;²³ they honor Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu to whom the book is dedicated. Bellori himself deleted these poems from the revised edition of *L'Istoria Augusta* which he published in 1685. In the following year, 1642, a long poem by Bellori, "Alla Pittura", was prefaced to the *Vite de' pittori* of Giovanni Baglione.²⁴ In this work Bellori's orientation is still essentially Early Baroque. In his opening stanza he defines painting as "faithful imitator, breathing simulacrum of nature" and throughout the poem maintains imitation of nature as the norm of painting. He lavishes praise not only on Annibale and Domenichino but likewise on Caravaggio. Strikingly absent here is the selectivity and discriminating exercise of taste characteristic of Bellori's later writings. Like Baglione, whom he later criticized so sharply precisely for his lack of discrimination, Bellori here lists more than a dozen painters of unequal merit in two stanzas alone. It is no wonder that he later repudiated this work, as he did in a marginal note to his own copy: "A poem which I wrote in my early years which now doesn't please me at all; printed rather through the persuasion of Tronsarelli than through my own will."²⁵ Mandosio mentions further Bellori's publication of a book of Latin and Italian poems entitled *Carmina*. This seems to be the only reference to such a work of Bellori,

and even in the eighteenth century Mazzuchelli was unable to find a copy of it.²⁶

Bellori initiated his long list of antiquarian publications²⁷ with the *Notae ad Arcum Titi* of 1645, and, although the greater number of these studies appeared only after the publication of the *Vite* in 1672, it is quite probable that Bellori was actively engaged in the study and collection of antiquities even during those years in which he gave so much of his time to contemporary art, both in the academy and in the preparation of the *Vite*. At the same time one or possibly two other non-antiquarian works were produced.

For the 1662 edition of the *Viaggi* of Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), Bellori wrote a life of the author.²⁸ Della Valle, famed both for his travels to the Near East and India and for the collection of Oriental curiosities which he had brought back to Rome, had long been a friend of Angeloni and Bellori; this biography served as a personal memorial. Bellori dedicated the biography to M. Parisot, the representative of Louis XIV or of the Duke of Anjou in Rome, as a means of thanking his benefactor for having taken him on a long trip through Southern Italy in the spring of 1661. On this trip Parisot and Bellori visited both the sites of tourist interest and outstanding antique monuments, including the library at Monte Cassino, ancient Capua, Naples and Vesuvius, the sepulchre of Vergil, the home of Tasso at Sorrento, the steps at Capri and numerous small towns which boasted antique remains. They made the trip on horseback, as Bellori relates, discoursing all the while as if²⁹ in the academy.

The next publication is often omitted from lists of Bellori's works, since the authorship has been held doubtful. This is the *Nota delli Musei, Librerie, Gallerie e Ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma*, 1663, 1664, and 1667.³⁰ I have not been able to find a copy of this work in America, but Schudt in *Le Guide*

di Roma³¹ gives a rather complete description of it. The book consists of fifty-five pages of annotated lists of works of art in the great private collections in Rome, including the Barberini, Borghese, Propaganda Fide, Giustiniani and that of Christina of Sweden. The works of art in each collection are arranged in alphabetical order with short commentaries. Schudt mentions Huelsen's supposition that the closing chapter on antique Roman painting may have been written by Bellori. Schlosser cites this work as "by an unknown author...behind whom was perhaps the erudite Bellori..."³² It is peculiar that Bellori's name should have been so frequently associated with this work though his authorship is not confirmed. If the attribution of the authorship of the *Nota* to Bellori is a legend, then it is a legend which began shortly after the book was published, since Skippon, who visited him on January 12, 1665, after describing his impression of Bellori and his collection added, "he published *Nota delli Musei &c in Roma* and is now printing a book of *bassi relievi*. He is making an addition to the lives of the painters..."³³ Schudt says that the preface of the *Nota* stresses the fact that these are only notes, so it is altogether possible that these were notes prepared by Bellori during his surveys of Roman private collections to gather material for his *Vite*.

It is impossible to ascertain the exact time at which Bellori started work on the *Vite*, since so much of the material used in it was either part of his own experience in his earlier years or was collected decades before the lives were published. In the life of Van Dyck, for example, Bellori noted that he received much of his information concerning the artist from Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665) who was in Rome only in 1645-46 and in 1647.³⁴ Bellori, in fact, was never a man who decided to write something one year and turned it out the next, but normally mulled over and perfected his material for years or even decades. In the foreward to the *Vite*, Bellori stated, "...it was the counsel of Nicolas Poussin that I followed in the method itself."³⁵ Hence the lives must at least have been started before 1665, the year of Poussin's death. However, Skippon's

reference in 1665 to this work, "he is making an addition to the lives of the painters", implies that it was so well under way by that time that the forthcoming publication was common knowledge in Rome, or at least that Bellori could talk about it with his guests. The earliest reference to it by Bellori himself, which I have been able to discover, is in a letter written in 1660 to Girolamo Bonini offering condolence for the death of his master, Francesco Albani, in which Bellori mentioned that "...he (Albani) liked some of my pages of the lives of painters."³⁶ It is clear, then, that at least some parts of the lives were completed before this time. In the same letter Bellori asked for a description of Albani's work in Bologna "having in mind soon to write his life," and for sketches " ...of the two paintings of Domenichino...which until now I have left blank in his life." So it seems that at least the life of Domenichino was almost completed before 1660. It is rather difficult, unless through an exhaustive analysis of Bellori's style, to discover the order in which the lives were written, since Bellori apparently brought all the dates, collections, and even analyses up to date at the time of printing; for example, in this life of Domenichino he discusses the effects of the earthquake of April 14th, 1672. By 1670, Bellori could write to his friend, Nicaise: "At the present time I am having printed the lives of modern painters, sculptors and architects, which I have written, beginning with the prince of painters, Annibale Carracci, whose life is already printed..."³⁷

Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni finally appeared in 1672,³⁸ when Bellori was about fifty-seven years of age. At the behest of Charles Errard, Director of the French Academy in Rome, it was dedicated to Colbert.³⁹ It consisted of the biographies of Annibale Carracci, Agostino Carracci, Domenico Fontana, Barocci, Caravaggio, Rubens, Van Dyck, Duquesnoy, Domenichino, Lanfranco, Algardi and Nicolas Poussin. Each life is preceded by an engraved portrait of the artist discussed and a vignette which, in most cases, characterizes the artist whose life it precedes. Vignettes like the *Idea* and the *Praxis*, the *Conceptus Ima-*

ginatio, the *Calamo liguntur eodum* and the *Imitatio Sapiens* illustrate and clarify Bellori's artistic theory.⁴⁰ Prefaced to the lives is "L'Idea del pittore, dello scultore e dell'architetto scelta dalle bellezze naturali superiore alla Natura", the discourse which Bellori had delivered in the academy of St. Luke in 1664. The theoretical agreement between this discourse and the lives indicates that the "Idea" is not just an unrelated essay on art theory, but the critical-esthetic program of the *Vite*, formulated concurrently with the writing of the earlier lives.

The title page of the *Vite* further carries the words "Parte Prima"; the second part, long promised by Bellori, was never printed. In the foreword to the first part, Bellori wrote: "...Some others are left for the second part, principally Francesco Albani and Guido Reni whose biographies I have not now been able to bring to a conclusion."⁴¹ Again in his life of Annibale, he wrote, "...Annibale, besides having taught his brothers, nurtured the greatest geniuses, Francesco Albani, Guido Reni, Domenico Zampieri, Giovanni Lanfranco and Antonio Carracci, whose lives we have described individually."⁴² Bellori made two other references in the *Vite* to the proposed second part. In describing the *Miracolo del Cieco illuminato* in the Capella di San Diego in S. Giacomo degle Spagnuoli, executed by Albani after a cartoon by Annibale, Bellori described the principal figures and concluded: "...there are other figures, which will be described in the life of Albani." And later in the same life he said, "...Antonio Carracci accompanied him to Bologna to marry one of his cousins of the same Carracci family, as will be related in the life of Antonio."⁴³ Prior Michel, writing from Rome to Abbé Nicaise on November 8th, 1695, added Ludovico Carracci, Guercino, Andrea Sacchi, Carlo Maratta and an "etc." to the list.⁴⁴ Jacob Hess further added the name of Pietro da Cortona, although he omitted the two Carracci.⁴⁵

While it appears that Bellori had worked intermittently on the second part for many years, it was only in the last year and a half of his life, while confined to his home, that he began to prepare it for

publication, even though he could find no publisher for it at the time. Prior Michel in the letter mentioned above wrote, "He has finished the augmentation of his book of lives of painters to which he has added the lives of Albani, of Guido, of Ludovico and Antonio Carracci, of Guercino, Andrea Sacchi, etc. and of Carlo Maratta, and which he defers having printed until he has the money for it. If anyone in France would like to make the expenditure, he would give his work, but it would be necessary to have the whole work reprinted because he has made his notes anew with some addition to the lives of the other painters..."⁴⁶ Of these, only the life of Carlo Maratta (1625-1713) was finally printed in 1731.⁴⁷ As published, it was the work of three hands. Bellori had written the life only as far as 1689. D. Francesco Primerio continued the work from this point up to 1695. Finally the publisher, Fausto Amidei, completed the life and prepared the whole manuscript for publication.⁴⁸ Appended to the life of Maratta is the *Dafne Trasformato in Lauro*, an appreciation of Maratta's *Dafne* written by Bellori and dedicated to the Triumphs of Louis XIV; it consists of a eulogistic description of the subjects and the passions they portray and a discussion of the relationship between this painting and the poem of Ovid.

The manuscript of the second volume is mentioned in a letter from Bellori's heirs to Nicaise in 1696.⁴⁹ According to Orlandi,⁵⁰ it was still in the possession of the heirs in 1704; by 1735 it was owned by M. Crozat, Jr.⁵¹ In the early nineteenth century the manuscript, or at least that part which is known today, was in the collection of M. Eugène Coquebert de Montbret (1785-1849).⁵² In 1847 M. Coquebert de Montbret bequeathed his library, including the Bellori manuscript, to the Bibliothèque de Rouen, where it remains today. The manuscript is catalogued as follows: "2507 (171) 'Vite di Guido Reni, d'Andrea Sacchi e di Carlo Maratti, scritte da Gio.-Pietro Bellori, in Roma, 1700' XVIIIe siècle. Papier. 271 pages. 314 sur 202 millim. Real. veau brun."⁵³ I have found no reference to the existence of the manuscripts of the other lives.

The lives of the artists which Bellori wrote and the interpreta-

tions of their works which he made reflect years of close association with contemporary artists, with the academies to which they belonged, and with the patrons and collectors of their works. Bellori himself mentioned in the introduction to the *Vite* that he knew personally many of the men of whom he wrote, and numerous literary references indicate Bellori's close friendship with contemporary artists, particularly Canini, Poussin and Maratta. La Teulière, for example, in a letter of 1693 wrote: "That good man (Bellori) has told me more than once that they (Bellori and Poussin) had never passed three days without seeing each other and discoursing together."⁵⁴

Apart from personal friendship, Bellori was often of practical service to contemporary artists as an intermediary between artist and patron and as an iconographer. For Carlo Maratta, for example, Bellori secured one of his first commissions in Rome, to decorate the Capella di S. Giuseppe in S. Isidoro in 1652.⁵⁵ For Canini he was able to find a place in the service of Christina of Sweden.⁵⁶ While there is evidence of Bellori's having devised rather extensive programs for palace decorations, as, for example, the Sala della Clemenza of the Palazzo Altieri, painted by Maratta,⁵⁷ surely the greater part of his iconographic advice was given in the manner related by Pascoli in the following extract. When Giuseppe Chiari was given a room to paint by the Principe di Palestrina "...he went at once to find Bellori, who was his close friend, he related to him the employment contracted with the prince and entreated him to suggest some beautiful and rare theme, so that the subject might be equal to his genius. He proposed divers of them, and by common agreement they preferred one to all the others, according to which Giuseppe prepared his studies and disposed the work."⁵⁸

For more than sixty years Bellori was an active member of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome as part of the classicist and, later, pro-French faction. Unfortunately, many of the academic records for this period are quite incomplete and others have been subsequently lost or destroyed, so that no complete record of Bellori's activities in the Academy has been

preserved. A few facts, however, are known. Bellori's name appeared on the roster of members as early as 1633.⁵⁹ In 1664 when Carlo Maratta was *Principe* of the Academy, Bellori delivered his pro-classicist discourse on the *Idea*. In 1671, the year before the publication of the *Vite*, Bellori was appointed secretary of the Academy. According to Missirini,⁶⁰ he maintained quite accurate and complete records for that year, and at the same time restored to good standing disputations on artistic problems. He was director of disputations in the Academy in 1675 and 1678, and possibly in succeeding years. Missirini reports further that Bellori participated in many disputations and delivered many discourses in the Academy, but only two of these have been published.

Bellori was also quite closely associated with the French Academy in Rome. He saw in the French Academy with its governmental support the possibility of a new artistic renaissance, especially since its educational system was based on the study of antique and Renaissance models and its general artistic theory was close to that which he had formulated in the "Idea." Bellori's community of interests with the French Academicians is well indicated by his many friendships with them. Among them, his closest friend, Poussin, was to have been the first director of the academy had he not died the year preceding its opening. The academy was opened in 1666, with Errard as director. Representing as it did the most advanced development in the academic movement, it soon dominated both the artistic life of Rome and the Academy of St. Luke. In 1676, with the approval and possibly through the action of Bellori and others of his conviction, a *pro forma* amalgamation of the two academies took place. That this action received Bellori's whole-hearted support is clear from the fact that it was he who delivered the principal address, "Gli onori della pittura, e scultura,"⁶¹ at the first distribution of awards from Louis XIV to the academicians following the amalgamation. In this discourse Bellori eulogizes the patronage of Louis XIV but at the same time indicates by historical and contemporary examples that the artists are amply deserving of the recognition and compensation they receive, since the honors bestowed upon them become magnified as the glo-

ries of the donor and of his country. It has already been mentioned that in 1689 Bellori was admitted to membership in the French Academy in Paris, which for several decades had held his writings, especially his antiquarian publications, in high esteem, as the frequent discussions of them in academic correspondence imply.⁶²

After 1672, Bellori's publications were, with a single exception to be discussed below, his erudite notes and texts to accompany engravings after antique objects: columns, arches, bronze statuettes, medals, sepulchral paintings, and classical and Early Christian lamps.

During these same years Bellori was occupied in two other capacities: as librarian and antiquarian for Christina of Sweden and as papal antiquarian. Every early biographer of Bellori referred to him as Christina's librarian and antiquarian,⁶³ but none recorded the exact duties which this position entailed or the time at which Bellori assumed those duties. According to Pascoli, Bellori's association with Christina began soon after her arrival in Rome, although it is not clear whether he referred to her first stay in Rome in 1655 or to her taking permanent residence there in 1662. In his life of Gianangelo Canini, Pascoli wrote only, "...in the meantime the Queen of Sweden having come to Rome, and Gianpietro (Bellori) having almost immediately taken special employment with her, he introduced also Canini..."⁶⁴ He sustained this by telling a four page story of Canini's difficulties with Christina, and Bellori's advice and intercession for him. Pascoli did not define the type of service which Bellori performed for Christina at that time; thus he gave no indication that Bellori became her librarian then. Skippon, who visited Bellori in 1665, likewise made no reference to his being librarian or antiquarian for Christina,⁶⁵ while Jacques Spon, who wrote of his trip to Rome in 1675, referred to Bellori only as papal antiquarian.⁶⁶ Mandosio, on the other hand, writing between 1682 and 1692, did refer to Bellori as Christina's antiquarian and librarian,⁶⁷ and Misson, who visited Bellori in 1688, called him "keeper of the library of the Queen Christina" in his index.⁶⁸ The terminal dates are further limited by several other

references. In 1683 the antiquarian Francesco Birago wrote: "Among other things...Christina...collected a vast treasury...of antique coins..., the care of which was first committed to the late Franciscus Gothifredus, the Phoenix of the Roman antiquarians, afterwards to Francesco Camelli, a man of wondrous erudition, who alone was held a worthy successor to so great a predecessor, until, because of his blindness, he had to give it up, after which it was committed to the most erudite Gio. Pietro Bello-⁶⁹ri." The *Adnotationes* biographer bears this out: "...wherefore Christina Alexandra, Queen of Sweden, received him (Bellori) into her court and committed to him the care of her library and museum in place of Frances-⁷⁰co Camelli, who had lost the use of his eyes." Unfortunately literary references to Camelli give little indication of when he became blind. Contemporary reviews of Camelli's catalogue of Christina's coins and medals⁷¹ published in an unfinished state in 1691, make only rather general references to his blindness and his librarianship for Christina, such as, "Some years ago, Mr. Cameli having been in charge of this rich collection..."⁷² or "The author, having become blind, abandoned his work..."⁷³ There are several documentary references which do indicate at least some of the years during which Camelli was active antiquarian and librarian for Christina. In a letter dated Rome, June 7th, 1671 Christina spoke of Camelli as "my Chaplain and antiquarian" and loaned him to the Grand Duke of Tuscany for a time to arrange his collection.⁷⁴ In a list of members of Christina's academy dated June 24th, 1674, Camelli is listed as secretary, and Archenholtz added a footnote: "Francesco Cameli was at the same time custodian of Christina's Cabinet of medals..."⁷⁵ In 1675 Jacques Spon wrote of "Monsieur Camely, Librarian of the Queen of Sweden" as an authority on medals on the page directly opposite that on which he referred to Bellori only as "papal antiquarian."⁷⁶

On the basis of these references it is reasonable to conclude that Bellori became librarian and antiquarian for Christina sometime after 1675 and before 1683. Other facts seem to bear out this late date. For example, it was not until as late as 1685 that Bellori published the

first group of Christina's medals in his revision of Angeloni's *Istoria Augusta*. Likewise the only specific mention of Bellori in any of Christina's correspondence is a reference in a letter of 1681 to his observations concerning a medal which she had cast the previous year.⁷⁷

Christina's early librarians, men like Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653) and Trichet du Fresne (1611-1661) had built up her collection of books and manuscripts, which did not expand rapidly after her coming to Rome. These men were succeeded by librarians of a different type: Mellini, Gothifredus, and Camelli, all skilled in antiquities and especially in numismatics, who helped Christina assemble one of the best collections of coins and medals in Europe. Bellori belonged chronologically to this second group, and it is probable that his chief concern was likewise with Christina's collection of coins and medals. It was probably under Bellori's direction that the collection was engraved by P.S. Bartoli.⁷⁸

It seems quite likely that Bellori retained the position of librarian until 1689, when, following Christina's death, her books and manuscripts were transferred to the Vatican Library and her collection and property dispersed, since in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century guide books only Bellori is mentioned as Christina's librarian.

An important conclusion to be drawn from the evidence here assembled in regard to Bellori's connection with Christina, is that he was not her librarian at the time he was writing the *Vite*, and consequently that any connection which he had with Christina or her court during those years was quite tentative.

There was no disagreement among Bellori's early biographers that he was appointed "antiquario di Roma" by Clement X (1670-1676). Jacques Spon, among others, affirms this in his several references to Bellori in 1675, in each of which he calls him "papal antiquarian."⁷⁹ Moroni has pointed out that sometime between 1565 and 1750 the functions of papal

antiquarian and of *Commissario delle antichità Romane* were fused into one office;⁸⁰ whether this took place before or after Bellori's incumbency will be revealed by further investigation. At least in Bellori's time the position probably carried, besides prestige, an annual stipend.⁸¹ Bellori retained the position of papal antiquarian until his death in 1696, and was succeeded by Pietro Santi Bartoli, his engraver of antiquities.⁸²

The *Descrizione delle Immagini dipinte da Raffaele d'Urbino nelle Camere del Palazzo Vaticano*,⁸³ published in 1696 shortly after Bellori's death, was a work which Bellori had often mentioned as being in process or even completed. From 1660 on, according to the editor of the Nicaise correspondence, Bellori had repeatedly announced the completion of various descriptions to Abbé Nicaise.⁸⁴ Bellori, himself, in the preface to the *Vite*, said that he had described the Raphael frescoes in the Vatican before he began to write the lives, and these were well under way by 1660. At least by 1670 the descriptions of the *School of Athens*, the *Disputa*, the *Parnassus* and the *Jurisprudence* were completed and Bellori had further descriptions in mind, for in September of that year he wrote to Nicaise: "I have already described the *Gymnasium (School of Athens)* which Raphael of Urbino painted in one of the chambers of the Vatican Palace, together with the three other images in the same chamber, namely the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, the *Mount Parnassus* and the *Jurisprudence*. I intend to describe the remaining images so marvelously depicted by the same Raphael in both the adjacent chambers and likewise the *Battle of Constantine* equally wondrously depicted by Giulio Romano, and several other celebrated paintings by Raphael himself, principally the marriage of Cupid and Psyche in the town house of Agostino Chigi, the Duke of Parma."⁸⁵ Sixteen years later, in 1686, a friend of Nicaise wrote to him: "...I continually await Mr. Bellori's putting into my hands the explanation of the paintings that you wish of him...but...he has not yet done so..."⁸⁶

Nicaise had still longer to wait. It was not until the last years

of his life that Bellori began to assemble the promised descriptions and other related writings for publication.⁸⁷ He was already weak and ill. In November, 1695, Prior Michel wrote to Nicaise: "...he deserves pity at his age, being sound of mind only; his hands tremble, his forelegs are as large as his thighs and as hard as if petrified. For the past year and a half he has not left his house."⁸⁸ Already in November, 1693, La Teulière had referred to "the illness of Sr. Pietro Bellori" and in December, 1693, to "His great age and his infirmities."⁸⁹ Because of these infirmities, Bellori received much assistance, principally from Carlo Maratta, in the preparation of the manuscript of the *Descrizione* and in the correction of the proof copy, especially since the printer had made so many errors that the text had to be worked over very thoroughly.⁹⁰ The expenses of publication were undertaken by Carlo Maratta and Cardinal Albani, who had the work privately printed and distributed free to scholars and other interested persons.⁹¹ The book was consequently never available at the bookseller's.

In its printed form the book contains together with the descriptions of the sixteen large frescoes in the Vatican Stanze and the *Amor and Psyche* in the Farnesina, a number of miscellaneous essays including "Se Rafaëlle ingrandì, e migliorò la maniera, per aver veduto l'opera di Michel'Angelo", a pro-Raphaelian refutation of Vasari which stimulated a quite animated controversy in the eighteenth century, "Della riparazione della galleria del Caracci nel Palazzo Farnese, e della loggia di Rafaëlle alla Lungara," a defense of the restorations made by and under the direction of Carlo Maratta, and several short eulogistic articles on Raphael. Possibly some of these were reworked from discourses which Bellori had previously delivered in the Academy. The descriptions themselves include, besides a figure by figure exposition of the separate walls, an explanation of the literary meaning of the subjects, of the allegories and of the symbolism in a manner which presages at least part of the method of contemporary iconographic studies. From the time of its publication to the present the book has been a major document of Raphaelism and the primary source of knowledge of the seventeenth century inter-

pretation of the Raphael frescoes.

After Bellori's death, his heirs included in a letter to Abbé Nicaise a list of Bellori's published works, available at de Rossi's, and of his unpublished manuscripts, to which current or probable sale prices were appended.⁹² Among the published works are five titles not listed in other catalogues of Bellori's works: "Liodoro", "Scola d'Atene", "Disputa del'Sacramento", "Bibia sacra di Rafaele" and "Favola di Psiche Rafaele". The prices listed for the first three, 30 to 40 bajoci each, seem to indicate that these were separate engravings for which Bellori had supplied the text. The "Bibia sacra di Rafaele" at 4 scudi is most probably a book of engravings with Bellori notes. The last title probably refers to a rather rare volume of engravings, *Psyches et Amoris nuptiae ac fabula*, published by de Rossi in 1693, likewise with Bellori notes.⁹³ Among the unpublished works listed as already at the publisher's are again three which are difficult to trace, "Galeria del Palazzo del Duca di Parma", "Camerino del medesimo palazzo" and "La castità di Diana dell'Albano". The prices, 4 scudi .50 bajoci, 1 scudo 80 bajoci, and 3 scudi respectively, again indicate that the books contained engravings. Possibly here again Bellori had supplied only the legends to accompany the plates. A comparison of some of the foregoing titles of engravings with the chapters of the *Descrizione* indicates that Bellori had originally planned an illustrated edition of his descriptions of the paintings of Raphael in which these engravings were to have accompanied his text.

Apparently Bellori spent his last years in his home on the Pincio near S. Isidoro,⁹⁴ possibly in the same house in which Angeloni had lived. Housed here likewise was Bellori's well known collection of antique coins and medals and other antique and modern works of art. This collection was first described in detail in the *Nota delli Musei ecc. in Roma* of 1663,⁹⁵ possibly by Bellori himself. Then Skippon,⁹⁶ who visited Bellori in 1665, gave a fairly complete description of it. Besides the coins, medals and other classical and Early Christian antiquities of which the

greater part of the collection was made up, Skippon noted also part of an Egyptian mummy case of Pietro della Valle, "a collection of designs by the best masters", and several paintings: a head by Titian, another by Tintoretto, a little dog by Van Dyck, and a "picture of Annibal Carvaggio (sic!) drawn by himself on his palate." The "collection of designs by the best masters" included at least a number of drawings by Annibale and Domenichino⁹⁷ and a quite extensive collection of seventeenth century engravings. In 1675 Jacques Spon described the antique components of the collection as "petits bijoux antiques."⁹⁸ Finally, Misson, who wrote a complete account of the antiquities in the collection as it was in April 1688, characterized them in the following manner: "The Curious Pieces it contains are not numerous, but they are well chosen, and, if he is not mistaken, really antick, very rare, and absolutely perfect."⁹⁹

Bellori died on February 19th, 1696.¹⁰⁰ In his personal life and demeanor, he was apparently an ideal example of the savant and classicist of the erudite age in which he matured, eschewing both the courtly pretensions which he condemned in Van Dyck and the bohemianism which he equally condemned in Caravaggio, in favor of those qualities which he most esteemed in his analyses of others: sobriety, diligence, moral virtue and a conscientious application to study, discussion and other intellectual pursuits.

NOTES

- * I wish to express my thanks to Professor Walter Friedlaender, Professor Richard Krautheimer, and Dr. Trude Krautheimer-Hess for their help and encouragement in the preparation of this study.
1. Principal sources: Prospero Mandosio, *Bibliotheca Romana*, Rome, Lazaris, II (1692), pp. 335-336; (Abate Valesio) Compendium of the life of Bellori prefaced to Bellori's *Adnotationes... in III. priorum Caesarum Numismata ab Aenea Vico Parmensi*, Rome, De Rossi, 1730, Prefatio editoris, pp. 3 ff. (hereafter referred to only as *Adnotationes*). Mazzuchelli refers to this life only as a "compendio della vita del nostro autore" without mentioning the name of the biographer. A review of the book in the *Bibliothèque Italique ou Histoire littéraire de l'Italie*, XI, Mai-Aout, 1731, Geneva, Bousquet, pp. 260-278 says: "nous aurons dit quelques particularités qui concernent Enea Vico & Bellori lui-même... d'après la préface de Mr. l'Abbé Valesio" (p. 263). Giannaria Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia cioè notizie storiche, e critiche intorno alle vite, e agli Scritti dei letterati italiani*, Brescia, Bossini, 1760, vol. II, part II, pp. 703-707.
The title is from John Dryden, "A Parallel of Poetry and Painting" published as a prefix to his translation of Dufresnoy, *De Arte Graphica*, London, 1695.
The portrait used was etched by Thomas Patch in 1796 after the portrait of Bellori by Carlo Maratta, then in his own collection. The original etching measures 8 1/8" x 6 1/2". (Cf. F.J.B. Watson, "Thomas Patch", *Walpole Society Annual*, XXVIII (1939/40), 47.)
 2. Francesco Nazzari in *Giornali de' letterati d'Italia*, Rome, 1673, p. 78, quoted in Angelo Comolli, *Bibliografia Storico-Critica dell'Architettura Civile ed Arti Subalterne*, Rome, Stamperia Vaticana, 1788, II, 1, pp. 51-52.
 3. Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, Mascardi, 1672. (Hereafter referred to as Bellori, *Vite*).
 4. For a general discussion of the period see Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, Vienna, Schroll, 1923.
 5. Bellori, *Vite*, "Al Lettore".
 6. *Loc. cit.*
 7. Published as a preface to Bellori, *Vite*, p. 3-13. For a more complete analysis of Bellori's theory see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea, ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der älteren Kunsttheorie*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, Leipzig-Berlin, 1924, pp. 57 ff; Walter Friedlaender, critical review of Panofsky, *Idea*, in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, I, 1928, pp. 56-64.

8. For example, G. P. Lomazzo, *Idea del tempio della pittura*, Milan, 1590.
9. *Adnotationes*, loc. cit., states that Bellori was more than an octogenarian (*octogenario major*) when he died in 1696. The latest date at which he could have been born is 1616. Possibly he was born somewhat earlier. La Teuliere, who succeeded Errard as director of the French Academy in Rome, 1684 to 1696, writing from Rome on October 20th, 1693 (*Correspondance des directeurs de l'Academie de France a Rome*, I, 1687, pp. 424-425) refers to Bellori as "un bon homme de quatre-vingts ans". Since the statement is very general one; "Il est a craindre qu'un bon homme de quatre-vingts ans ne se remette pas si tost en automne", it cannot be taken as a literal statement of his age. A variation of two or three years might make quite a difference in his association with Domenichino, Albani, etc. The date 1615 is the assumption of Mazzuchelli, but is by no means certain. Unfortunately, Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, quotes no burial inscription for Bellori which might establish his age at the time of his death in 1696.

The early sources say that Bellori was born in Rome. I do not know any documentary proof for this. It is just possible that he was born in North Italy. This would help explain the uncertainty about the date of his birth.

10. *Adnotationes*, loc. cit
11. *Ibid.*
12. Principal biographical sources used for Angeloni are: Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.*, I, ii, pp. 768-770, "Vita di Francesco Angeloni" and "Angeloni" in *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, (Hoefer ed.) Paris, Didot, 1852-1866, II, pp. 648-649.
13. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray, London, Everyman's Library, 1907, I, pp. 161-162. Evelyn had visited Angeloni before on November 10th, 1644 and there writes (page 110): "From the villa (Ludovisi), we went to see Signor Angeloni's study, who very courteously showed us such a collection of rare medals as is hardly to be paralleled; divers good pictures, and many outlandish and Indian curiosities, and things of nature." Passeri, *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti dall'Anno 1641 sino all'Anno 1673* (ed. Jacob Hess, Vienna, Schroll, 1934), p. 62 also mentions Angeloni's collection in his life of Domenichino: "Questo Secretario era il Sig. Francesco Angeloni, persona adorna di molte eruditioni, et in lettere assai versato, et al maggior segno curioso delle belle Professioni; havendo la Casa adorna d'infinita galanterie, e memorie antiche; di Quadri di valore; et uno studio di medaglie delle più singolari; e di disegni dei più celebri, e renomati pittori." Ghilini, *Teatro d'uomini Letterati*, Part III, P. 224, (MS.) also discussed the collection, according to Mazzuchelli. *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, Roma, Mascardi, 1638, p. 303, noted Angeloni's

- collection and localized his residence as near S. Isidoro and the Vigna di Card. Ludovisi.
14. Vincenzo Vittoria, *Osservazioni sopra il libro della Felsina Pittrice per difesa di Raffaele da Urbino dei Caracci e della loro scuola*, 1703. Reprinted as supplement to Carlo Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, ed. Zanotti, Bologna, 1841, p. 16, Letter of April 16, 1679. The quotation continues: "Di ciò rende fede il Sig. Carlo Errard degnissimo Rettore dell'Accademia Regia in Roma, che in quel tempo ancor giovane e studioso più, e più volte vide e disegnò ancora tante belle invenzioni e studi di Annibale; e altri ancora vivono testimoni della bellezza di essi, che ammiransi oggi in Parigi e in Francia, ove furono trasportati." Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572, infino a'tempi di Papa Urbano ottavo nel 1642*, Rome, Fel, 1642, reprint by R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Roma, 1935, pp. 108-109: "De' suoi (Annibale's) disegni ne sono resi illustri molti studii; ma numerosi, e bellissimi sono quelli, che si conservano nel pretioso, e celebre Museo del Signo Francesco Angeloni su'l monte Pincio."
 15. L. Faberio, "Orazione in Morte di Ag. Carraccio" in C. Malvasia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 324. "Chi parziale troppo della nostra scuola l'Angeloni, che nell'erudita sua *Storia Augusta* nella medaglia d'Antonino Caracalla, lodando il Museo del Duca Sanesio, massimamente per le numerose pitture di Annibal Carracci bolognese, soggiunge: Che coi due fratelli Ludovico e Agostino e il nipote Antonio avvivarono il buon modo del dipingere". Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult a copy of Angeloni's *Istoria Augusta*. His collection, his relations with Domenichino and a few words quoted from his *Istoria Augusta* in the writings of others are therefore my only sources for his attitudes and ideas which would have influenced the young Bellori.
 16. Bellori, *Vite*, pp. 293-295. Among other things on the Caracci, G. B. Agucchi had written (under the pseudonym of Gratiadio Machati) a preface to *Diverse figure al numero di ottanta, disegnate da... Annibale Caracci*, Rome, 1646, cited by Otto Kurz, *Appendice a Schlosser, La Letteratura artistica*, Florence, 1937, p. 36, no. 540. Agucchi also prepared a treatise on art, first with Annibale, then with Domenichino; a fragment of this is quoted by Bellori, *Vite*, pp. 316-317.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
 18. "L'ill.mo. Gio. Pietro Bellori, Gentiluomo romano, fu nella pittura discepolo di Domenico Zampieri detto il Domenichino, ma li studi d'erudizione e delle bell'arti, fra le quali la Poetica non hebbe in minor luogo, lo divertirono dalle pitture. E' stato un gentilissimo spirito e gran dilettaante di medaglie e disegni, io mi preggio d'averlo pratticato e d'averli dedicato la mia Madonnina del Correggio sulla stampa di Faraone Aquila, nipote di

Pietro Aquila - fu antiquario della regina di Svezia. Nel qual tempo, che la Regina faceva libri di disegni egli ne radunò moltissimi, massime de' Caracci onde non potei di meno di non pigliar io il suo intiero studio sebene avevo preso quello del Sig. Prencipe di Vicovaro et altri di Bologna." Marginal note to copy Coll. 31 E 14 of Baglione, *op. cit.* in the R. Accademia dei Lincei. The marginal notes to this copy have been included with those of R. Accademia dei Lincei: Coll. 31 E 15 as a supplement to the facsimile reprint of Baglione by the R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome, 1935; the above note is on supplementary page 15. Melchior Missirini (*Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademia di San Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova*, Rome, de Romanis, 1823, p. 130) says: "era già il Bellori Accademico, come ragionevol Pittore".

19. P. J. Mariette, *Abeceario*, I, pp. 113-114 being volume II of *Archives de l'Art français*, Paris, 1851-53. "Je n'ai jamais vu de ses desseins, mais j'ai trouvé dans une suite de très petits paysages qu'a gravé le Canini un petit morceau qui porte son nom; il est tellement dans la manière des autres paysages, qu'il seroit assez difficile de decider qu'il en est l'auteur, si son nom ne s'y trouvoit pas, et, comme il est assez spirituellement, touché, on desireroit qu'il eut plus souvent manié la pointe." There were eight engravings in this series "Scherzo dei Paesi" printed in 1668 according to F. Noack "Canini" in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, V (1911), p. 504.
20. Philip Skippon, *An Account of a Journey made thro' Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France*, printed in A. Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1746, VI, p. 694 ff.
21. "1689 - 8 janvier. Bellori, Jean Pierre de Rome, Peintre conseiller, amateur." ("Liste Chronologique de membres de l'Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture", *Archives de l'art français*, I, (1851-52) p. 373.) Roger de Piles on the contrary, admitted on May 2, 1699, is listed as "connaissseur du premier ordre, conseiller honoraire amateur." Bellori is almost the only man in that long list whose death date and age at the time of his death are not given.
22. Jean Arnaud, *L'Academie de Saint-Luc a Rome*, Rome, 1886, p. 35.
23. Francesco Angeloni, *Istoria Augusta*, Rome, Fei, 1641. Only the quatrain, revised, appeared in Bellori's new edition of the *Istoria Augusta*, Rome, 1685, this time dedicated to Cardinal Alfieri (*Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne*, I (1843), p. 694; Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.* I, II, pp. 768-770).
24. Giovanni Baglione, *op. cit.*
25. *Ibid.* (Lincei: Coll. 31-E 15)

26. Mandosio, *loc. cit.*; Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.*, II, 11, pp. 703-707; as late as 1672 Bellori prefaced three short poems on painting, sculpture and architecture to his *Vite*, p. 14.
27. See complete list of works in Mazzuchelli, *loc. cit.*
28. Bellori, "Vita di Pietro della Valle", in Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, I, 2nd ed., Rome, 1662/3.
29. Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, Brighton, G. Gancia, 1843, pp. 30-31.
30. *Nota dell'i Musei*, etc., Rome, Falco, 1663; reprinted as supplement to G. Lunadoro, *Relazione della corte di Roma*, Rome, 1664 (not in the Venice, 1664 edition of Lunadoro); 2nd edition Rome, Moneta, 1677.
31. Ludwig Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma*, Vienna, 1930, pp. 69-70.
32. J. von Schlosser-Magnino, *Letteratura Artistica*, Florence, 1935, p. 467. Schlosser points out that the *Nota* does the same thing for contemporary art that Ulisse Aldrovandi had done for ancient art in his *Delle statue antiche*, Venice, 1556, a book which Bellori knew very well.
33. Skippon, *loc. cit.*
34. Bellori, *Vite*, p. 261; J. G. Frothingham, "Unpublished letters written by Sir Kenelm Digby to Sr. Luke Holstein, Guardian of the Vatican Library," *The Antiquary*, XXXVI, (1900) p. 8 ff.
35. Bellori knew Poussin for a great number of years; he probably knew him already in the thirties and surely by 1642 he was well acquainted with him, since in that year Poussin wrote letters on Angeloni's behalf to the Sieur de Chantelou. ("Correspondance de N. Poussin," *Archives de l'art francais*, n.s. V, 1911, pp. 62, 71, 82, 115, 136.)
36. Quoted in Malvasia, *op. & ed. cit.*, II, p. 190.
37. Bellori to Abbé Claude Nicaise, Paris, Bibl. Natl. Ms. fr. 9362, 3 printed in "Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire des arts en France", *Archives de l'art francais*, ed. Ph. de Chennevières, Paris, Dumoulin, I (1851-52), pp. 24-30.
38. Three editions of the Bellori *Vite* have appeared: Rome, successore al Mascardi, 1672; an outlaw edition bearing the place and date Rome, 1728 but recognized already by Mazzuchelli, *loc. cit.* as a fraudulent statement, actually printed in Naples. To this edition is appended the life of Luca Giordano by the young De Domenici. The third printing, to which is added the life of Carlo Maratta appeared in Pisa, N. Capurro, 1821, as volume XIII-XV of the "Collezioni di ottimi scrittori italiani," supplementary to the "Classici Italiani" of Milan. A facsimile reprint of the 1672 edition was made by the R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome, Calzone, 1931.
39. Stated by Bellori in dedication of *Vite*.

40. An interpretation of the vignettes and their relation to Bellori's theory will be the subject of a forthcoming article by the present writer.
41. Bellori, *Vite*, "Al lettore."
42. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 95.
44. Exupere Caillmer (ed.), "L'abbé Nicaise et sa Correspondance", *Académie des sciences, belles lettres et arts de Lyon. Classe des lettres - Mémoires*, Lyon, XXI (1885), pp. 82-84.
45. Passeri, *op. & ed. cit.*, Introduction, p. 10.
46. Caillmer, *loc. cit.*; if Bellori's copy of his own *Vite* is in the Lincei Library, as is his copy of Baglione, we might be able to know from his marginal notes what some of the revisions were.
47. Fausto Amidei (ed. & pub.), *Ritratti di alcuni celebri pittori*, Rome, di Rossi, 1731, pp. 147 ff.
48. *Ibid.*, "Fausto Amidei a chi legge."
49. Paris, Bibl. Natl., Correspondance Nicaise, t. IV, lettre XLII *Archives de l'art français*, I, pp. 30-33.
50. Orlandi, *Abecedario Pittorico*, Bologna, 1704.
51. Anonymous preface, probably by Nicholas Vleughel, to Lucovico Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura intitolato L'Aretino*, 2nd ed., Firenze, 1735, p. 12: "Noi abbiamo tre differenti edizioni del Vasari, ed ecco, che da Napoli viene a darci il Bellori, che è divenuto rarissimo. Non manca pure chi ne assicura oltre di quest'opera esservi un secondo volume del medesimo autore, di qui una persona di considerazione (a footnote names M. Crozat Jr.) ha il manoscritto, e sarebbe da desiderarsi, ch'egli ne volesse far dono al pubblico."
52. *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France - Rouen* (par Henri Omont), Paris, Plon, n.s. I (1886), p. 31. According to the *Biographie Universelle*, IX, pp. 164 Coquebert de Montbret the elder (1755-1831) had assembled the library and manuscript collection which passed to Eugene Coquebert de Montbret (1785-1849).
53. *Catalogue Generale des Manuscrits...Rouen* (par Henri Omont), p. 612
54. "La Teulière a Villacerf 22 avril 1693. Rome - 112...Je croy que c'est de la que les tableaux du Poussin tirent leur plus grand prix, parce qu'il s'estoit bien instruit de l'Antiquité par son estude et par le commerce estroit qu'il avoit avec le Sr. Pietro Bellori, grand Antiquaire. Ce bon homme m'a dit, plus d'une fois, qu'ils n'ont jamais esté trois jours sans se voir et raisonner ensemble." (*Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France a Rome*, I, p. 378.)

55. G. P. Bellori, "Vita di Carlo Maratti" in Fausto Amidei (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 156.
56. Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Moderni*, Rome, de Rossi, 1730-1736, II, p. 119.
57. Fausto Amidei (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 174.
58. Lione Pascoli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 211 f.
59. Arnaud, *loc. cit.*

60. Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 130: "...Si occupò molto il Morandi de' negozj Accademici; ma ciò che più gli valse commendazione presso i posterì, fu ch'ei scelse in Segretario dell'Accademia un Uomo dottissimo, e leggiadrissimo Scrittore intendo parlare del grande illustratore delle opere del Divino Raffaello, del valente Biografo d'insigni Artisti Pietro Bellori.

Era Già il Bellori Accademico, come ragionevol Pittore; ma assunta la Segretaria ben meritò assai più dello stabilimento; poichè rimise in credito le disputazioni delle cose dell'arti: ragionò con profonda dottrina ed altissimi concetti più volte in Accademia, e questa difese dall'imputazione onde era stata aggravata di non aver recato in quello splendore che meritava la memoria del Sanzio: poichè il Bellori nel discorrere li dipinti di questo Angelo della Pittura, recercò, può dirse, nel Paradiso le peregrine idee, che aveano adornato l'intelletto di tanto Maestro: e con sì fine imagini le rappresentò nello scritto, e con sì dolci, ed accomodate parole, che si parve gli ispirasse l'ombra stessa di Raffaello. Sembra che il Pascoli faccia credere ch'ei si disvogliasse della Pittura per darsi interamente a questa artistica Metafisica, ed anche alla Poesia, e all' Antiquaria. Male è ch'ei non fu scelto segretario a vita! E ben dovea l'Accademia con ogni mezzo di blandimento persuaderlo: che troppo più belle cose ci avrebbe dell'Accademia lasciato, ove pure l'incuria de'suoi Successori non avesse disperso li preziosi suoi scritti, siccome ha fatto delle dispute, che sequeirono sotto il Morando; and p. 132: "Si accenna ne'registri Accademici, che sotto il Cesio (1675), essendo ello di sì retto criterio, l'eloquente Bellori insistette pur anche per ricondurre le dispute sulle materie Artistiche a pratica più diligente, e ch'ei rinnovò suoi ragionamenti con quella sua copiosa facondia, che recata sempre sul bello ideale tenea di spiriti intelletti;..." *Mercur de France* (1678), p. 20, 88: "Bellori chargè des sujets de Concours en l'Académie de Saint-Luc a Rome."

61. Published in G. P. Bellori, *Descrizione delle Immagini dipinte da Rafaele d'Urbino nelle Camere del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, Rome, Giacomo Komarek, 1695. I am not sure whether or not this discourse was previously printed by the French Academy as M. LeBrun had suggested. "...C'est aussy pour en donner des marques publiques que Monsieur LeBrun a jugé a propos

- de la faire imprimer, avec l'excelant Discours de Monsieur Bellori, auquel on ne peut donner assez de louanges." (124) Henri Testelin a Errard. Paris, 5 avril 1678. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, I, p. 73.*
62. Besides other types of recognition, in 1673 Colbert awarded Bellori through Errard a gold chain valued at about 400 louis for his dedications to Louis XIV. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, I. pp. 49-50.*
63. Mandosio, *loc. cit.*; *Adnotationes, loc. cit.*; Mazzuchelli, *loc. cit.*; G. M. Crescimbeni, *Dell'Istoria della Volgar Poesia*, Venice, Basiglio, 1730, V, p. 148.
64. Pascoli, *op. cit.*; II, p. 119.
65. Skippon, *loc. cit.*
66. Jacques Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant fait aux années 1675 & 1676*. La Haye, Alberts, 1724, I, pp. 28, 230.
67. Mandosio, *loc. cit.*
68. Maximilian Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, 4th ed., London, 1714, II, p. 169 ff. The English edition used is a relatively unaltered translation of the original French edition.
69. Franciscus Mediobarbus Biragus (1645-1697), *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata ab A. Occo olim congesta nunc aucta, studio et cura P. Mediobarbi Biragi*, 1683, p. 624. "Inter caetera, quae incluta & clementissima Christina Suecorum Vandalorumque Regina, saeculi decus & miraculum, post regna spreta, post Purpuram pessundatam, Ejusdem vel studiis, vel studioium levamine comparavit thesaurum ingentem & vere tanta Principe dignum numismatum antiquorum, nullis parcens sumtibus conguessit, cujus cura quondam Francisco Gothifredo antiquariorum Urbanorum Phoenici primum, postea Francisco Camello, mirabilis eruditionis viro, & qui solus tanto antecessore dignus successor habitus est, quoad caecitatis tenebris exsolutus fecit, postmodum eruditissimo Jo. Petro Bellorio demandata fuit." Quoted in Johan Archenholtz, *Mémoires concernant Christine Reine de Suede*, Amsterdam, 1751-80, II, p. 141, n.
70. *Adnotationes, loc. cit.*
71. Fran. Camellus, *Nummi antiqui aurei, argentei, & aerei, primae, Secundae, seu mediae, minimae, & maximae formae, Latini, Graeci, Consulium, Augustorum, Regum, & urbium, in Thesauro Christinae Reginae Suecorum asservati. A Francisco Camello, ejusdem Majestatis Antiquario, per series redacti*, Rome, J. F. de Buagnis, 1691.
72. "Il y a quelques années que Mr. Camell ayant esté chargé de ce riche dépôt, le mit en ordre, & en fit des mémoires, plutost pour son usage particulier que pour les rendre publics." (*Journal des Sçavans pour l'Année 1692, XX. Amsterdam, 1693, p. 17.*)

73. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, II, p. 162, Letter 635; La Teulière a Villacerf, 20 septembre 1695.
74. Archenholtz, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 13.
75. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 139, 141.
76. Spon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 26, 27.
77. In 1680 Christina had cast the medal: "Ne mi bisogna ne mi Basta". On March 20, 1681 Christina in a letter to Bourdelot (Archenholtz, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 112) referred to an observation of Bellori on the medal, but not naming him as her antiquarian. Christina likewise wrote an undated explanation of this and several other medals ("Travaux littéraires" in the Azzolini archives), quoted by Baron de Bildt, *Les Médailles romaines de Christine de Suède*, Rome, 1908, pp. 74, 114 f., in which almost identical terminology in relation to Bellori's observation is used; an additional sentence says clearly: "Ce fut l'illustre Bellori, antiquaire de la Reine..." Since the medal was cast in 1680 the explanation might well have been made shortly thereafter, i. e., possibly contemporaneously with the letter cited above.
78. P. S. Bartoli, *Museum Odescalchum sive Thesaurus antiquarum gemmarum*, Rome, 1752. After her death, Christina's collection of antique gems and some of her bronzes and reliefs were bought by the Odescalchi and here published; her coins and medals are published in Camelli, *op. cit.*, Bellori ed. of Angeloni, *L'Istoria Augusta*, 1685 and Sigebert Havercamp, *Nummophylacium Reginae Christinae quod comprehendit Numismata aerae Imperatorum Romanorum, Latina, Graeca, atque in Colonia Cusa... a P. S. Bartoli... incisa tabulis... XLIII*, Hague, Petrum de Hondt, 1742. See also Gaebler, *op. cit.*, and de Bildt, *op. cit.*, Olof Granberg, (*La Galerie de tableaux de la Reine de Suede*, Stockholm, Haeggström, 1897) includes a list of the painting collection made in Rome in 1689.
79. Spon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 26, 230.
80. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venice, 1840-1861, XV, pp. 84 ff.
81. Lione Pascoli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 51, notes that both Piersanti Bartoli and his son and successor Francesco Bartoli received an annual stipend as papal antiquarian. It is not unreasonable to assume that Bellori had likewise received some monetary allotment.
82. Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' Pittori Perugini*, Rome, 1732, pp. 228-233 (Vita di Piersanto Bartoli), p. 232: "...da uno di cui (Pontefici) gli fù per morte del Bellori conferita la carica d'Antiquario apostolico, e del Senato...".
83. G. P. Bellori, *Descrizione delle Immagini dipinte da Raffaello d'Urbino nelle Camere del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, Rome, Giacomo Komarek, 1695. The dedications were either brought

up to date or first made in 1695. The descriptions are dedicated to Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700) and the *Amor and Psyche* to Francesco Farnese who in 1695 succeeded the famous Ranuccio, Duke of Parma from 1646 to 1694. Francesco reigned for a very short time.

It seems unusual that the text was published without plates, especially since it is folio size. Probably Bellori originally planned to accompany it with plates either by Carlo Maratta or P. S. Bartoli after Raphael. The copies in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, contain each a portrait of Raphael by C. Maratta. There were two later editions of the *Descrizione*: Rome, eredi di G. L. Barbiellini, 1752 and Rome, de Romanis, 1821, the latter edited by Missirini.

The original manuscript is preserved in the Vatican: "Bellori, I. P.: descrizione delle immagini dipinte da Raffaello d' Urbino nelle Camere del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, 9927, p. 196, 9927 = Saec. XVIII, chart. MM.c. 309 x 218 ff 345. Diversorum opera. 2. (f. 196)". M. Vattasso & H. Carusi, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, tom. V (Codices 9852-10300), Rome, Vaticanis, 1914.

84. *Archives de l'art français*, I (1851-52), p. 35.
85. Paris, Bibl. Natl., Ms. fr. 9352, 3 in *Archives de l'art français*, I (1851-52), pp. 24-30.
86. Paris, Bibl. Natl., Corr.Nicaise, t. IV, lettre XXIX, *Archives de l'art français*, I (1851-1852), pp. 33-36.
87. A number of references in the correspondence of La Teulière and Villacerf between October 1693 and March 1694 indicate the progress of the work. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, I (1887), pp. 424-425 (letter 434), pp. 428-429 (letter 439), p. 434 (letter 445), pp. 465-466 (letter 469), p. 473 (letter 475).
88. Caillemier, *loc. cit.*
89. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, I (1887), pp. 428-429 (letter 439), p. 434 (letter 445).
90. *Ibid.*, I (1887), pp. 424-425 (letter 434) and Caillemier, *loc. cit.*
91. Paris, Bibl. Natl., Corr. Nicaise, T. IV, lettre XLII, *Archives de l'art français*, I (1851-1852), pp. 30-33. (Letter of Bellori's heirs to Nicaise). "...delle quali cose non havendo appresso di loro esemplare alcuno, per esser stata pubblicata l'Opera dopo la morte del Autore, hanno molto dolore de non poterlo servire; insinuano pero che per esse si deve ricorrere alli favori dell'Emmo. Sr. Cardl. Albano, e Sr. Carlo Maratti, li quali, come quelli che hanno fatto la spesa della stampa, e d'ogni altro, cosi l'uno, e l'altro, con molta gentilezza donano largamente il libro delle sopraccenate eruditioni, intitolato descrizione

delle immagini dipinte da Rafaele d'Urbino, nelle camere del Palazzo Vaticano, alle persone virtuose, che gli ne fanno istanza."

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Psyche et Amoris nuptiae ac fabula. A N. Dorigny delineata et incisa; et a J. P. Bellorio notis illustrata*, Rome, 1693. obl. fol. (Br. Mus. Gen. Cat., XIII (1936), col. 330.)

94. *Roma Sacra Antica e Moderna*, Rome, G. B. Molò, 1887, III, p. 65.

95. *Adnotationes*, p. 5.

96. Skippon, *loc. cit.*

97. The marginal note to Baglione, quoted in note 18 above, indicates the breadth of Bellori's collection of Annibale drawings. Vittoria, *op. cit.*, p. 16, letter of 16th April 1679 refers specifically to Bellori's having the drawings for the *Bacchanale*, the *Sleeping Endymion* and the *Diana receiving wool from Pan* for the Farnese Gallery, all of which Bellori may have inherited from Angeloni. Of Domenichino drawings Bellori, *Vite*, p. 357, mentions, "...gli disegni di Domenico che in qualche numero, e pretiosi veggonsi ne' nostri libri..." and *Ibid.*, p. 295, cites specifically the drawing for the *St. Francis kneeling before the Crucifix* as being in his collection. Passeri, *op. cit.*, p. 63, discusses a group of caricatures by Domenichino in Bellori's possession, including several with Passeri and Canini as subjects.

98. Spon. *op. cit.*, I, pp. 26, 230. Spon localizes Bellori's residence at that time as "proche de S. Joseph, au mont de la Trinité."

99. Misson, *loc. cit.*

100. Paris, Bibl. Natl. corr. Nicaise, t. IV, lettre XLII. *Archives de l'art français*, I (1851-1852), pp. 30-33.

CUBIST-REALISM: AN AMERICAN STYLE*

by

Milton W. Brown

Cubism had its beginnings in the formal research of Cézanne, and continued to develop through similar formal experiment. However, a correlation was soon made between the Cubist simplification of form and the mechanically precise, simple shapes associated with machine production, and Cubism became involved with the concept of industrial and mechanical functionalism. In America, the more purely aesthetic experiments of the Parisian Cubists affected certain individual artists, but the mechanical connotation of Cubism, which was introduced here by Marcel Duchamp, had a greater effect. Duchamp's influence precipitated an important phase of American painting which resembled Purism in some respects, but which might more accurately be designated Cubist-Realism.

Cubism was not the outgrowth of Functionalism. For example, the model of a Cubist building by Duchamp-Villon which was included in the Armory Show of 1913 was definitely not functional. Its style represents merely a translation of traditional architectural members into Cubist forms. But if neither Cézanne's research for fundamental form nor Cubism was the result of industrial functionalism, the two streams -- Cubism and Functionalism -- did eventually coalesce and influence each other. How this actually occurred is debatable. It is interesting to note that Purism, which Ozenfant considered a rationalization of the empirical and decorative Cubism of Picasso, was an attempt to return to "an architectural or classical idea". In his *Après le Cubisme*, written in 1918 together with the architect Jeanneret (Le Corbusier)¹; in various articles written during the same year, and in *L'Esprit Nouveau* which he and Jeanneret edited between 1920 and 1925² the amalgamation of Cubism and Purism with Functionalism was consummated. Ozenfant contended that a "classical" or "architectural" art must use "universal" forms, that is, forms devoid of incidental, accidental or personal emotive qualities. He contended also that "mechanical" forms were as valid as "organic" ones as norms of beauty. Ozenfant's paintings are architectural organizations of mechanical and organic forms. At the same time, Le Corbusier, having experimented with Purism, was applying the same aesthetic principles to

his "functionalism" in architecture.

The aesthetic ideas generated by Cubism ultimately affected the formal aspects of Functionalism, while Functionalism caused the Cubist experiments to be adapted to an international architectural and decorative style. The element which Functionalism as a style extracted from the many theoretical principles of Cubism was that of essential form, or the simplification of an object to its basic cubic structure. This principle, essential also to both Purism and Cubist-Realism, is not much more than the original Cubist tenet founded on Cézanne's dictum of nature seen in terms of the cylinder, the sphere and the cone.

In American art, this new direction was influenced especially by Marcel Duchamp, since he actually visited America and was active here for several years. Others came as well. Indeed, the Armory Show led to the migration to these shores of a number of important modernists of the school of Paris -- Picabia, Gleizes and Crotti (Nadelman and Pascin arrived after the outbreak of the war) -- and even inspired some people to predict the shift of the world art capital from Paris to New York.³ The new arrivals themselves were intrigued at first glance with the remarkably modern and industrial aspects of New York, as well as by its crude vitality, so different from the super-aestheticism of their own artistic cafe circles.⁴ Perhaps it was a sub-conscious search for a social basis for their art that fostered the illusion that the modernism of American life would be sympathetic soil for the flowering of modernism in art, an illusion which was soon dispelled by the cold, anti-artistic atmosphere of American culture. Very shortly it drove them back to the warmer if more decadent environment of Parisian aestheticism and social isolation.

Duchamp, a brilliant young artist in his early twenties when, after being invalided out of the French army, he came to America for the first time in 1915, was already one of the more vigorous theoretical minds of the Parisian group. Cursed with a logical faculty which throughout his

life interfered with, and actually stifled, the exploitation of his creative ability, Duchamp was driven by a phobia against repetition to move rapidly from one theoretical position to its logical consequence, stopping at each only long enough to embody it in a single artistic form. At the time of his first arrival in America, he had passed through phases of Fauvism and of the Cubism of Picasso and Braque, and was already exploring the intricacies of what was later known as Dadaism. His interest in certain inherent mechanistic and constructivistic features of Cubism, however, soon led him in new directions. As early as 1911, he was approaching the renunciation of painting as an autonomous art. His *Nude Descending the Stairs* (1912⁵) by his own admission was a negation of painting as such. In it he attempted to focus attention on the mechanical construction of the composition through the elimination of color and the simulation of wood.⁶ The next step in this mechanistic tendency was his development of "glass constructions", which allowed for the amalgamation of two independent personal predilections: the one for precise mechanical construction; the other for the irrational, accidental element of chance. These "glass constructions" consisted of abstract compositions in paint and metal foil, contrived with meticulous care on panes of glass (fig. 1). The result was a window or transparent screen which might be viewed as an isolated abstract pattern or, when placed within a room, as a sort of foreground screen behind which shifting haphazard groupings would create continually changing pictures. In his earlier experiments, Duchamp had been preoccupied with aesthetic construction, but in the "glass compositions" for a time there was a balance between the rational element of artistic manipulation and the irrational one of chance. Subsequently, with perverse logic, he was to move toward the latter. Indeed, his history is a piecemeal renunciation of conscious aesthetic construction in favor of accidental conformations to which aesthetic connotations might be imputed.

The theorists of Cubism propounded the manipulation of aesthetic materials as the basis for the creation of a new art, but for Duchamp

Cubism was merely a starting point from which he could proceed to a manipulation of objects, and then to a manipulation of objects and ideas, as in his "ready mades". In these contrivances, which consist of ordinary manufactured objects to which he gave cleverly twisted titles, we have a controversion of all the accepted traditions of art, a dissolution of the boundaries between the arts and between the artistic and the non-artistic, a negation of art as either a craft or a specific compartment of social and human activity, the beginnings of Dada. On the other hand, in these "ready mades" he glorified the artistic impulse to unprecedented heights. In them the artistic idea became superior to artistic creation; ideas themselves took on aesthetic significance; ideas had the ability to transform the most gross and common of material objects. Next, even conscious aesthetic manipulation was denied in his *Trois stoppages* -- *étalon* (1913), which was created by simply dropping a string haphazardly on a blank canvas and fixing it there for eternity.⁷ A whim of fate was, then, as legitimate a work of art as the protracted labor of Giotto, Michelangelo or Van Eyck. Finally, his *Fontaine*⁸ aurinal, signed R. Mutt, which he included in the First Independents Exhibition of 1917, was a completely Dadaist denial of art itself, in its anti-aestheticism, its attack on conventional attitudes both aesthetic and moral, its cynicism, its pretensions to wit, and its nihilistic rejection of everything but individual caprice. Although he fought for its inclusion in an exhibition of art, the object itself was an obvious mockery of art. In 1920 he sent Walter Arensberg a hermetically sealed glass bulb containing air from a street corner in Paris. This was a clever joke,⁹ but in their almost worshipful attitude toward the cuteness of the idea, in their elevation of this witticism to a state of aesthetic exaltation, Duchamp and the Arensberg circle were expressing disillusionment with all the accepted standards of human behavior.

Whatever Duchamp's ruthlessness in the destruction of both the traditions of art and art itself, he was still at that time pampering the individual creative soul. The last step in his hegira was to deny

even that. He culminated his gradual retirement from art by turning to chess, perhaps because the game offered a problem to be solved through logical, precise, mental manipulation which is in itself almost aesthetic and which, in spite of its intricacy, is completely meaningless. But even chess could not escape his destructive logic, for he took to playing a Dada chess in which only illegal moves were allowed!⁰ Today, making satchel-catalogues of his complete works in miniature, he is an archaeologist digging among the dry bones of his youth and promise.

As a brilliant personality and a leading exponent of modernism, Duchamp soon became the guiding spirit of an artistic group in this country. He was active in the arrangement of the First Independents Exhibition; in 1920, together with Katherine Dreier and his American disciple, Man Ray, he was instrumental in the formation of the *Société Anonyme*, the forerunner of the Museum of Modern Art. He was the center of the Arensberg salon, where he came into close contact with Charles Demuth, Charles Sheeler and Joseph Stella!¹ The two divergent tendencies of his personality and art, the rational, precise aspect of mechanism and the irrational one of Dadaism, were influential in varying degrees. His Dadaism never had a profound effect upon American art, even though it was supplemented by Picabia within the Stieglitz circle through the publication of the magazine *291*!² It affected only Man Ray, profoundly enough so that he migrated to the more congenial atmosphere of Paris, and Demuth, in a more limited way. The whimsical obliqueness of Duchamp's titles, which in his case were essential elements of the aesthetic idea, were taken up by Demuth as witty postscripts to an otherwise prosaic vision, as in *My Egypt* (1927) (*fig. 2*). In contrast to such isolated examples of Dadaist influence, the effect of Duchamp's mechanism was widespread. Indeed, it was perhaps due to him more than to anyone else that the mechanistic element in Cubism took root in America.

The introduction of mechanical forms in painting is difficult to assign to any one person. The Futurists were the first to use such forms with a consciousness of their implications. Mechanical forms were also employed by the Vorticists, and later by Fernand Léger.¹³ Duchamp's early concern with mechanical forms and his experiments with "glass constructions" came to a fuller fruition in the work of the Russian school of Constructivism. Closer to the Futurists than to the Cubists in this respect, Duchamp and Picabia were certainly among the earliest exponents of the use of mechanical forms in painting. This interest appears in Picabia's *Very Rare Picture upon the Earth* (1915) (fig. 3) and *Amorous Procession* (1918).¹⁴ Duchamp, in *Nude Descending the Stairs* (1912) and *The Bride* (1912),¹⁵ had attempted to render the phenomenon of motion, but his later interest, as it appears in the "glass constructions", was in mechanical forms as such, rather than in movement. Joseph Stella, who returned from Italy in 1913, also renounced the motor aspects of Futurism in favor of a more static representation of mechanical forms in *Brooklyn Bridge* (1914).¹⁶ and later in the series called *New York Interpreted* (1922) (fig. 4).¹⁷

Whoever may deserve the credit for the earliest interest in mechanical forms, it seems natural that this innovation should have found acceptance in America. The wonder is that it did not have a greater effect. It would seem that America, with its great industrial and mechanical development, with the material results of this development visible on all sides and integral to normal existence, should logically have gravitated to some artistic expression of what was virtually a national characteristic. Theodore Dreiser, in *The Genius* (1915), sensed the artistic potentialities of the industrial scene, but his artist-hero's paintings, which dealt with the drama of American industry, had no counterpart in reality. The imposing structures of American industry, grain elevators, steel

mills, skyscrapers, were accepted by some artists even in the nineteenth century as artistic material, but always with emphasis on their "picturesqueness". Joseph Pennell, for instance, found much of his inspiration in industrial subjects, and in this sense was a pioneering figure. But his vision, conditioned as it was by a dramatic interest compounded out of Whistler and Piranesi, did not plumb the nature of industrial forms; instead it clothed them in a romantic garb more fitting for Gothic cathedrals and Venetian canals. Somewhat later, such men as John Marin and Abraham Walkowitz saw in the tremendous industrial mound of New York what Delaunay saw in the cathedrals and in the Eiffel Tower of Paris, a fearful and disorganized oppressive force.

The Realists, who might have grappled with this problem, never did. Their interest was in "the people", in the human element of industrial society, rather than in the machine. This interest was motivated by a general sympathy for the lower classes, but in their urban existences rather than in their industrial rôle. The Realists saw the people, one might say, in the extra-curricular activities of their lives, never in their relation to the machines which they tended. On the other hand, the artists responsible for the development of mechanism in painting were almost completely oblivious of the human factor, confining their interest to the material forms of industry. The expression of the industrial theme in terms of its own inherent precise, clean, powerful masses was apparent in the experiments of Duchamp, and later was taken up by an important group of American artists. Today, it is clear that no art of that time was capable of handling the complex problems of social relationships in modern industrial life. The Futurists, with their glorification of the machine and their philosophical nihilism, although aware of the problem, were incapable of any rational solution of the man-machine relationship save that of Fascism. The Russian Constructivists, who were politically allied with the revolutionary proletariat, were not much nearer a solution, in spite of theoretical gymnastics. The Parisian school by its very nature was divorced from the larger problems of social existence.

Cubist-Realism was not a school. It was without manifesto, or even conscious program. But, in spite of the lack of formal organization among its exponents, it was a recognizable and influential American style. In it, an attempt was made to impart to all matter a sense of fundamental mass, clarity and precision. Ornament as such was eliminated, as were the peculiarities and accidents of light, texture and atmosphere. Although most of the artists who finally evolved toward Cubist-Realism began as Cubists, none of them lingered long over experiments with abstractions; instead, they almost immediately applied Cubist principles in their simplest forms to reality. It is perhaps impossible to designate any one artist the originator of the style. Demuth and Sheeler approached it from different angles, and if Demuth arrived at the kernel of the idea first and was the innovator, Sheeler carried it to a more complete fruition and was its leading exponent.

Ozenfant was developing his Purist aesthetic in Paris in 1918; as early as 1917, Charles Demuth, in close contact with the sources of French modernism, had taken the first steps in Cubist-Realism. Demuth's watercolor style had grown out of Cézanne's, with a stiffening dose of Cubism. From Duchamp, he had acquired a taste for mechanical forms. He was never, however, interested in abstraction as such, and in his earliest experiments in Cubism objects are clearly recognizable. Even in his still-lives, in which he was most dependent upon Cézanne, he never went as far toward abstraction as did the French master, but rather adapted the latter's method to his own more realistic vision. Neither Demuth nor Sheeler was motivated by theoretical formulae, as were the Purists, the Suprematists and the Constructivists. Demuth's earliest experiments in Cubist-Realism, *Trees and Barns* (1917),¹⁸ *Paquebot* (1917),¹⁹ *Houses and Tree Forms* (1919)²⁰ and *New England* (1919),²¹ show an emphasis on simplification of form and on pattern. He made no attempt in these or in the works of the early twenties to destroy or greatly distort the recognizable character of forms, but attempted only to simplify and to systematize. Excepting such works as *Incense of a New Church*,²² in which an

imaginative reaction to industrial forms is presented, Demuth clung rather strictly to the apparent shapes of things.

Some critics have found difficulty in reconciling Demuth's aloof aesthetic dandyism, so fully expressed in his sensitive watercolor still-lives and flower pieces, with his interest in such a powerful theme as the industrial scene. But Demuth's use of this subject was not the result of an interest in industrial life. In the shapes of buildings he sought a mechanical precision which he could only impute to natural forms, and which makes his still-lives brittle and rigid. His fastidious temperament stripped the industrial scene of its crudeness, and found in it instead a cool delicacy of neatly juxtaposed architectural surfaces. In spite of this attitude, however, Demuth's architectural paintings were the earliest, and remain among the finest, American industrial landscapes.

In his paintings of industrial subjects, Demuth's personal style is characterized by a fragile decorative manner and a predilection for the "ray-line", a derivation from the dynamic directional lines of Futurism. He used the "ray-line" in a rather empirical fashion, extending the edge of some real object to the frame or to a point of intersection with other linear extensions. Only rarely does it distort the appearance of an object, and never seriously. The "ray-line" in Demuth's scheme usually suggests a spotlight or light ray, for when it crosses another "ray-line" or some object, it effects the shade of the geometric area which is created. In many cases, however, the "ray-lines" are superimposed and seem to be merely superficial and fortuitous divisions of the surfaces.

In contrast to the Purists, Demuth never confined himself to simple "basic" shapes, but from the outset was interested in complex architectural forms, finding material in both traditional New England architecture and modern industrial buildings. These he treated with a clean linear precision, rather than a feeling for mass. His style was limited by two-dimensional Cubism, and implied no great recession into depth.

The faint watercolor washes or flat oil paint areas seem to cling ascetically to the surface plane, and the parallel movement of the "ray-lines" helps to destroy the possibility of vigorous movement into depth.

Charles Sheeler gave Cubist-Realism the three-dimensionality which eventually became its outstanding characteristic, and which Demuth's style lacked. Sheeler and Demuth were both products of the Pennsylvania Academy of Art and pupils of William M. Chase. Both quickly forgot the Chase style. After the Armory Show, the influence of Picasso appeared in Sheeler's work. In 1915 and 1916, he began making Cubist experiments, and even played with Synchronism. In the series of barn studies of 1917 and 1918, he applied his Cubist lessons in a manner similar to Demuth's. They show a comparable reliance on two-dimensional Cubism, but, in spite of some textural play, they are concerned less with decoration and more with construction. The "ray-line", which complicated the work of Demuth, is absent. Early in his development, Sheeler discarded the modernist baggage in search of a simple realism.

In a study of Sheeler one inevitably encounters the name of a now almost forgotten painter, Morton L. Schamberg, who died in 1918 at a very early age. He was Sheeler's comrade of student days and closest personal and artistic companion. With Sheeler, he fell under the spell of the vigorous mind of Duchamp, and before his death he created a small group of works whose style, which is similar to Purism, developed out of the mechanical constructions of Duchamp.

Schamberg, more than any other American of that period, used mechanical objects as the basis of his art. Picabia is generally credited with this innovation for his *Objet qui ne fait pas l'éloge des temps passés où c'est clair comme le jour (cette chose est faite pour perpétuer mon souvenir?*²⁴ and his *Amorous Procession* (1918), but it should be remembered that Schamberg was painting similar subjects at the same time, although he did not use Dadaist titles. This certainly antedated Leger's

treatment of such subjects. Schamberg, like the majority of Americans (one might almost call this typically American), lacked the complex aesthetic mentality, and was seemingly unaffected by the involuted philosophies, of his European contemporaries. He was more simple and direct in his approach to the machine world. Unlike De Chirico or even Duchamp, who made mechanical-looking objects, and unlike the later Constructivists, who created new mechanical contrivances, Schamberg dealt with the commonly recognizable objects of our machine age. To him, these objects were neither clever contrivances mocking the mechanical world, nor the fantastic inventions of minds steeped in mechanics yet lacking reason for mechanical creation. They were simply machine forms. Like Léger in France, Schamberg saw in the machine a rich new source not of theoretical disquisition, but of artistic inspiration. This was true in varying degrees of all the Cubist-Realists. The machine, which is both a part of our lives and a symbol of modern civilization, to them was not an object for aesthetic juggling, but had an integrity of its own. They allowed the machine to dictate, in a sense, the form which its artistic realization should take. As this Cubist-Realist tendency developed, the style shed its earlier garments of Cubism and Futurism, and approached closer and closer to a direct, realistic representation of the machine.

Curiously enough, Charles Sheeler, whose name has become almost synonymous with the art of the machine in America, at the time of Schamberg's activity, was primarily concerned with reality of form in general, and not with special mechanical forms. By the early twenties, Sheeler had left his period of Cubist wanderings behind, and, having derived from Cubism certain principles of simplification, was attempting to apply these to visual reality. Whereas his earlier works had a distinctly Cubist character, those of the twenties show an almost photographic insistence upon reality. The paintings and drawings of this period in many cases self-consciously avoided artiness in composition, personal emotive quality, or additions to the simple statement of fact. There is, however, in most of his work of the early twenties, such as the series called

*Suspended Forms*²⁵ and *Demarcation of Forms*²⁶ an insistence upon the cubical character of matter. Like the Purists, Sheeler worked with fundamental shapes in an effort to arrive at an architectonic statement, but, unlike the Purists, who sacrificed the real in the creation of an abstract architecture of form, he enhanced the architectural quality of the real. He intensified structure through insistence upon its basic, solid form, and through a simple and precise rendering of reality. During this period, when Sheeler's art was poised between reality and abstraction, he produced works which, for their cold objective honesty, their cleanness and their simplicity, are among his finest.

To a considerable extent, Sheeler's artistic character is dependent upon the camera. Perhaps the clarity and precision of his style are more directly related to the clear-focus photography that both he and Paul Strand were doing about 1917 than to Cubism; but, conversely, Cubism had affected the style of the photographs with which he and Strand took first and second prizes at the Wanamaker Exhibition in 1918.²⁷ Strand, by all standards the more original and daring photographer, already was experimenting with abstraction in 1917.²⁸ By moving close to an object and selecting one section of the larger mechanical unit, and by the use of unusual angles and lighting, he managed not only to present a new facet of that unit, but also to create the effect of an abstract composition. Demuth's vision in *Paquebot* of the same time was strikingly similar to Strand's in its segmentation or "accidental" abstraction. But this attitude has never been normal to Sheeler. Except in occasional photography and paintings, Sheeler has a more prosaic, aloof and impersonal attitude. All his work is circumscribed by an unrelieved directness. It is as if he were forever looking for the front of an object in order to present it in full face. However, following his collaboration with Strand in the production of the film, *Manhatta*,²⁹ which was shown with much acclaim by the Dadaists in Paris, Sheeler's style showed a definite mechanistic tendency. At that time he made *Church Street "El"* (fig. 5), using an unusual perspective angle and achieving an effect of semi-abstraction; in

a similar vein are his *Staircase, Doylestown*³⁰ and *Stairway to Studio*.³¹ Sheeler soon lost the equilibrium between photography and painting, between reality and abstraction, which he attained in these works of the early twenties, and regained it only spasmodically in the years to follow, as for example in *Upper Deck* (1929)³² and *Barn Reds* (1939).³³

In the later twenties, Sheeler succumbed to the dominance of the camera. As his vision became chained to photography, he moved from Cubist-Realism toward a mere transcription of reality. He gave up the simplicity which Cubism had taught him to see, and substituted the accidents and complexities of the camera for those of paint. Now only occasionally did the unusual angle and abstract patterning lend interest to his compositions. His series of photographs of the Ford River Rouge plant and subsequent paintings of the same subject based on the photographs (fig. 6), which popularized the industrial scene as a legitimate subject for American painting, marked a turning point in his style. In these, at the end of his artistic wandering, Sheeler attained a condition of servility to the fact comparable to that of the less adventurous, more academic Luigi Lucioni.

Theoretically, Cubist-Realism could have developed without the influence of the machine, but actually mechanical forms and the industrial scene were inextricably a part of the style. For some Cubist-Realists, the machine was a motivating factor; for others, the search for simplified, geometric forms eventually led to the machine as logical subject matter. In the work of some artists, however, the style became divorced from mechanical forms, and its principles were applied to natural and non-mechanical subjects, so that two general tendencies developed within Cubist-Realism -- the representation of the mechanical on the one hand, and of the organic on the other.

Among the more mechanically minded, besides Sheeler and Schamberg, were Joseph Stella, Louis Lozowick, George Ault, Niles Spencer, Stefan

Hirsch and Henry Billings. To the organic group belonged Georgia O'Keeffe, Elsie Driggs and Edward Bruce with his American version of *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Demuth stands somewhere between, equally interested in the mechanical and the organic. Preston Dickinson was influenced by Cubist-realism in a limited way; his art always retained a highly personal flavor. Among the younger men, Peter Blume, who later worked into the realm of Surrealism, began as a Cubist-Realist.

Stella and Lozowick, among the artists of the mechanical group, were originally interested in Futurism, and in their early work experimented with the rearrangement of reality. The aim of both was to create an emotional equivalent rather than a naturalistic representation, and this led them deeper into abstraction than any other Cubist-Realists went. Although Stella began as a full-fledged Futurist in *Battle of Lights, Coney Island* (1913),³⁴ he later renounced the motor aspects of Futurism for a less mobile although essentially dynamic type of representation in his five panels, *New York Interpreted* (1922). This dynamism, which serves to differentiate Lozowick as well as Stella from the other Cubist-Realists, who were primarily concerned with static mass, resulted from a transformation of the disintegrant motor principles of Futurism into a system of rhythmic movement which, however, was used within an essentially static mass. The larger form retained its basic weight and stability, but the rhythmic organization of smaller units lent it a dynamic surging movement. In this way, Stella and Lozowick were attempting to express the controlled but titanic forces inherent in the static shells of industrial forms, to describe the pervading dynamism of the machine, its soul rather than its external shape. It was only natural that they, as well as many of the other Cubist-Realists, should find their greatest inspiration in the New York scene, its skyline, its buildings, its elevated railways, and its bridges, just as it was natural that Duchamp, Picabia and Archipenko should be inspired by it, and that the English Vorticist, C.R.W. Nevinson, who visited New York in 1922, should paint several pictures of the city's overpowering mass.

Stella worked in this style for only a short period, but in it he created the most creditable paintings of his career, among them the *New York Interpreted* panels. His style later deteriorated into blatantly colored mysticism. But even in his weird flower and bird compositions the remnants of Cubist-Realism are to be found.

Lozowick, on the other hand, moved from the semi-Futurism of such paintings as *Coney Island*³⁵ and his series of paintings of American cities to a thoroughgoing Cubist-Realism, becoming progressively more realistic. Although Sheeler has received most of the credit for the exploitation of the industrial scene as subject matter, actually Lozowick, espousing the principles of mechanism, explored this field much more consistently and conscientiously. Perhaps it is because he has worked almost exclusively in lithography that his importance has not been as widely acknowledged. Although his style is strikingly like that of Sheeler in its coldness and mechanical precision, it is always more sober and more Cubist. Also, he lacks the latter's flair for making pleasant pictures; in all his work, there is an iron stiffness which is relieved only by the inventiveness of his pattern.

In the work of Niles Spencer, Stefan Hirsch and George Ault, we have the simplest expression of Cubist-Realism -- a picture of the world reduced to blocks and cylinders. Here the world is so cleansed of accidental encumbrances that it becomes a deserted geometric land without life or atmosphere, a neat wasteland in which people and their activities are out of place. Unfortunately, this simplification is so thoroughgoing that even the effect of an imposing mass of gigantic structures is reduced to that of children's building blocks. Thus the creation of a Purist three-dimensionality defeats its own purpose, for in removing all reference to human activity it reduces the structures in size and significance. They are no longer imposing in weight or dynamic power; instead, they become contrived stage-set models. In stating the one truth of their cubical character, these artists destroy all the other truths of their human and social meaning.

Certainly the most precocious artist of the twenties was Peter Blume. At the age of twenty he created the charming picture, *Home for Christmas*,³⁶ which is memorable for its solid construction as well as for its naïf humor. Blume was then searching for plasticity of matter in the Purist idiom, constructing still-lives with simple volumes. But by 1928 he was already beyond the study of simplified form and, in *The Bridge* (fig. 7), organized a larger composition adroitly. His paintings of 1929 were honest and rather sober efforts, tightly built and executed with a feeling for abstraction. At that time he was still dominated by Cubism, given to compositional distortion and simplification of surface. His evolution toward realism and Surrealism had not yet begun.

The remarkable thing about Georgia O'Keeffe is that, in spite of the mélange of material she has assimilated, her art still remains unique, completely and unmistakably marked by her personality. However, in the face of the rhapsodic critiques which extol her art as the expression of the "essence of womanhood"³⁷ or the "symphonic surge of the earth's dynamic splendors",³⁸ one is constrained to insist that she belongs rather prosaically to the general stream of Cubist-Realism, and that her art, even in welling up in a "shamelessly joyous avowal of what it is to be a woman in love",³⁹ has found opportunity to acquaint itself with contemporary sources. As a member of the Stieglitz circle, she came into contact with and absorbed Demuth's clean, crisp surfaces, Sheeler's sterilized volumes, and Strand's close-up technique in photography. She added to these her own fine sense of decoration, and colored the whole with a curiously cold passion.

After her arrival in New York in 1916, when Stieglitz exhibited her drawings for the first time, O'Keeffe became interested in a kind of decorative abstraction. Eventually she grew tired of such design and turned toward a more precise style. During the early twenties, she vacillated between the complete abstraction of *Music -- Black, Blue and Green* (ca. 1923)⁴⁰ and the stylization of reality of *Lake George* (ca. 1924).⁴¹

She had already developed the characteristic O'Keeffe manner -- broad clean color areas, sharp definition of edges, imperceptible color gradation and striking pattern.

By the middle twenties her position as a Cubist-Realist became clear. Such efforts as *Alligator Pear*⁴² and *Calla Lily* (1925),⁴³ in which she renounced abstraction for a closer study of nature, are similar in style to Sheeler's paintings of the early twenties, with their crisp rendering of objects. Her first characteristic flower pieces date from about 1925. In them she shows for the first time the feature which was to become the trademark of her style, the microscopic vision that derives from Strand's close-ups.

Under the impact of Cubism, Strand in 1917 had turned from the creation of brilliant realistic portraits to the study of abstract manifestations in nature. Attempting to emulate the Cubists, but unable as a photographer to rearrange the world arbitrarily, he sought in it at least the appearance of abstraction. He found that through the use of new angles of vision he could discover new, exciting and often abstract forms in the most common objects or scenes. By his selection of points of view, he revealed abstract patterns of mass, light and shade in the city's buildings and streets. By moving his lens close to an object, he could break through its outline and give it a new visual quality, destroying its normal aspect as an organic unity, relationship to background, and psychological implications, and revealing a strange abstract configuration. Thus, by moving in on objects, Strand in *Circular Forms* (1917) (fig. 8) and O'Keeffe in *Calla Lily with Roses*,⁴⁴ were both introducing a new world of pictorial experience.

Although this microscopic vision is in one sense the opposite of the high-angle shot which Strand also exploited, both grew out of the enrichment of our common vision brought about by such modern scientific inventions as the camera, the airplane and the microscope. It is not strange

that the concepts of space and scale and the visual references which had obtained for centuries almost without change should have undergone such complete revision in America, where the practical application of science was most widespread. Here again there was no theorizing, but simply an almost unconscious application to art of the new visual experiences.

Artistically speaking, the microscopic vision which is basic to O'Keeffe's style has a dual nature. Its major appeal lies in a heightening of reality. In enlarging the details of some common object, it brings to our attention facts which we have never perceived, and thus increases our awareness of common things. But at the same time it destroys the normal appearances of things, presenting us with startling formal relationships which have all the characteristics of abstractions. O'Keeffe has underlined this experience of finding in the ordinary the appearance of the extraordinary.

She has been more successful in her flower pieces than in her representations of buildings. In the latter her prettiness of color is an intrusion, her lack of strength obvious. Such paintings as *The Shelton* (1928)⁴⁵ and *The American Radiator Building* (1925) (fig. 9), in which she introduced irrelevant embellishments, are decorative designs no more substantial than flower petals. In her flower pieces, however, she managed to express herself fully. Here her microscopic vision is the basis for brilliant decorative patterns. Her great popularity was probably due to her ability to make certain features of modernism palatable by combining abstraction with reality and presenting the whole with pretty colors and polished surfaces. A vitality which she had in her early days blinded the public and the critics to her limitations; since that vitality has evaporated, it has become an obvious fact that Georgia O'Keeffe was always an interior decorator's painter.

Although Preston Dickinson was a painter of limited talent, when he died prematurely in 1930 he had already developed an interesting personal

style. He was prone to garish color and poster-like design, but in his more sober moments he could be a sensitive colorist and a fine composer.

Dickinson was profoundly affected by the Armory Show. Cézanne's influence was immediately apparent in his landscape painting. However, he converted Cézanne's structural style into a kind of Fauvism in which the patches of color never coalesced, but carried on a violent and discordant clamor. After the war, his style changed again. He turned to a Cubist-Realist simplification of form, which he combined with a rather dainty version of oriental design. Like Demuth, he had the curious combination of an essentially fragile style and an interest in industrial landscapes, factory buildings and bridges (*fig. 10*). Like O'Keeffe, he was enamored of pretty colors, but his were never as obvious as hers, and were usually rather inventively combined.

Dickinson's interest in pastel did a good deal to weaken his style; he fell prey to its easy decorative quality and its highly pitched shallow hues. In some of his landscapes in pastel, which show a strong Chinese feeling, he managed to utilize the delicacy of the medium through a tasteful and judicious spotting of color; but in his still-lives, a flamboyance of color destroys the simplicity of form. However, his last still-lives in oil show a successful conquest of this tendency. Although rich and daring in color, they reveal a new restraint. His forms gradually became simpler and acquired a new cleanness derived from the Cubist-Realist idiom of smooth surfaces and crisp edges. Dickinson differed from the other Cubist-Realists in that he did not strip the object of all non-essentials or accidents of light and shade, but made them elements of the design. He composed these elements without originality, but with taste.

The general development of Cubist-Realism was, as we have seen, from Cubism to Realism, from the use of simple abstract surfaces to the meticulous rendering of nature. Although not revolutionary in an aes-

thetic sense, since its exponents on the whole were interested not in experimentation with abstraction as such, but in utilization of abstraction for their own ends, Cubist-Realism was still an important style in two respects. It established the machine and the industrial scene as legitimate and even central concepts in American art, and, in its insistence on the clean and unencumbered surface, it helped to influence not only a considerable group of artists, but also American taste as a whole.

NOTES

- * In the absence of the author, this article has been prepared for publication from a rough manuscript which did not include acknowledgements. — Editors.
1. Amedée Ozenfant and Charles Edouard Jeanneret-Gris, *Après le Cubisme*, Paris (*Editions des commentaires*), 1918.
 2. October, 1920. to January, 1925.
 3. Cf. "The European Art Invasion," *The Literary Digest*, LI, 1915, p. 1224.
 4. *Loc. cit.*
 5. *Cubism and Abstract Art*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1936, fig. 40.
 6. Cf. interview published in *Art News*, XXXII, 1933, p. 11.
 7. "Notice historique sur Dada et Surréalisme," *L'Amour de l'Art*, XV, 1934, p. 343. *Trois stoppages* -- *étalon* seems never to have been reproduced. — Editors.
 8. Reproduced in *View*, Ser. V, No. 1 [1945] p. 23.
 9. Cf. Henry McBride, "Foreword," *The Dial*, LXIX, 1920, pp. 61-62. Reproduced in *View*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
 10. Alfred Kreyenborg, *Froubadour: an Autobiography*, New York, 1925, p. 366.
 11. For an account of the Arensberg circle, see Constance M. Rourke, *Charles Sheeler: Artist in the American Tradition*, New York [1938] pp. 45-49.
 12. February, 1915, to March, 1916.
 13. Although Léger is generally accepted as the leading exponent of the use of mechanical forms, he did not treat the machine as subject until ca. 1918. Prior to that date his experiments in Cubism sometimes assumed a mechanical appearance.
 14. *Cubism and Abstract Art*, *op. cit.*, fig. 194.
 15. *Ibid.*, fig. 41.
 16. *Stella: 1943*, Catalogue of the A.C.A. Gallery Exhibition, New York, November 8-27, 1943, cover.
 17. *Ibid.*, center spread reproduces all five panels.
 18. William Murrell, *Charles Demuth*, New York, The Whitney Museum of American Art (American Artists Series), n.d., p. 55.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
 20. Albert E. Gallatin, *Charles Demuth*, New York, 1927, reproductions.
 21. *Arts and Decoration*, XIV, 1921, p. 230.
 22. Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts photograph.

23. The work of Feininger, who employed a similar system of "ray-lines", is more logically constructed. At this early date, however, Feininger was still dominated by the Futurist tendency toward the disintegration of form.
24. Collection of Mme. Picabia. This seems never to have been reproduced. -- Editors.
25. *The Arts*, III, 1923, pp. 334, 343.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
27. Catalogue: *The Thirteenth Annual Exhibition of Photographs, March 4-16, 1918* [Philadelphia] John Wanamaker, 1918.
28. Cf. *Camera Work*, Nos. XLIX-L, 1917, pl. x; also my fig. 2.
29. This film is now lost. It was released in New York in July, 1921, as *New York the Magnificent* (cf. Nancy Newhall, *Paul Strand*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1945, p. 5).
30. Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
32. *The American Magazine of Art*, XXV, 1932, p. 123; XXVII, 1934, p. 98.
33. *Charles Sheeler: Paintings, Drawings, Photography*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art [1939] pl. 105.
34. *Stella: 1943*, *op. cit.*, first pl.
35. *New York City Guide*, New York, Federal Writers' Project, 1939, pl. between pp. 540-541.
36. *The Arts*, IX, 1928, p. 283.
37. Paul Rosenfeld. *Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns*, New York [1924] p. 205.
38. Louis Kalonyme, "Georgia O'Keeffe, a Woman in Painting," *Creative Art*, II, 1928, p. xi.
39. *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.
40. William J. Henderson, Frank J. Mather and Charles R. Morey, *The American Spirit in Art*, New Haven, 1927 (Pageant of America, XII), p. 166.
41. Kalonyme, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv.
42. *The Dial*, LXXIX, 1925, p. 120.
43. *International Studio*, LXXXI, 1925, p. 145.
44. Kalonyme, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.
45. *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

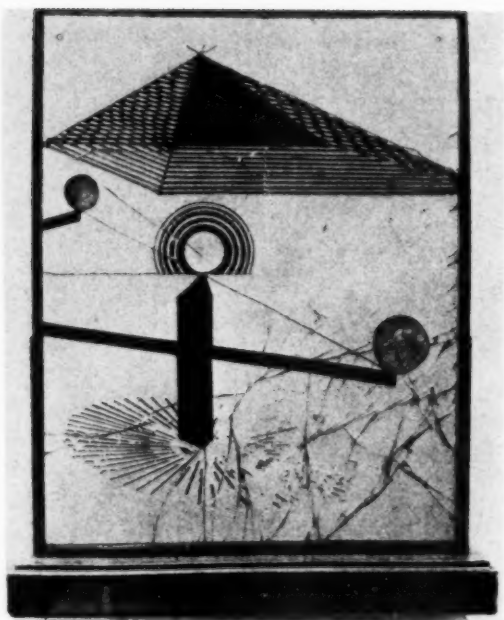


Fig. 1. Duchamp, Disturbed Balances. New York, Katherine Dreier collection

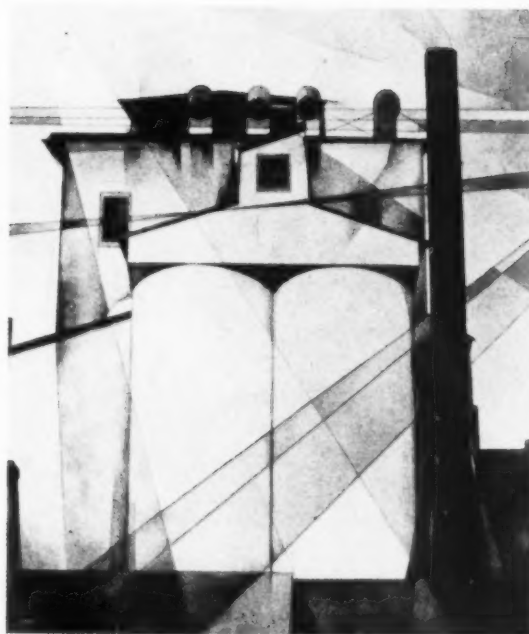


Fig. 2. Demuth, My Egypt, artist's collection



Fig. 3. Picabia, Very Rare Picture upon the Earth, artist's collection.

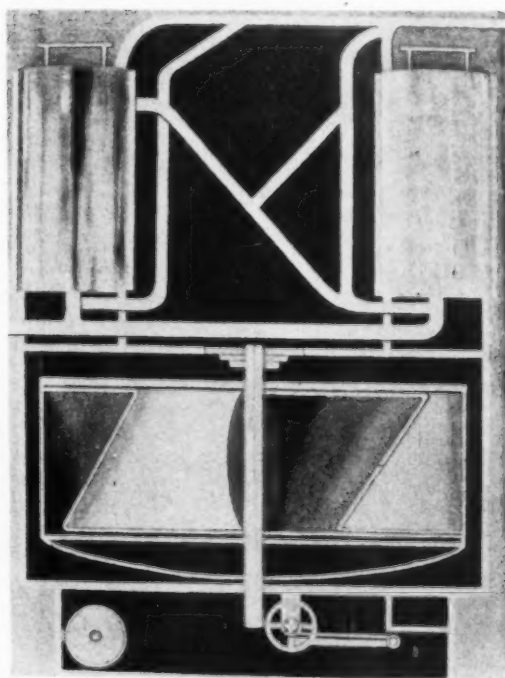


Fig. 4. Stella, Port of New York, location unknown.

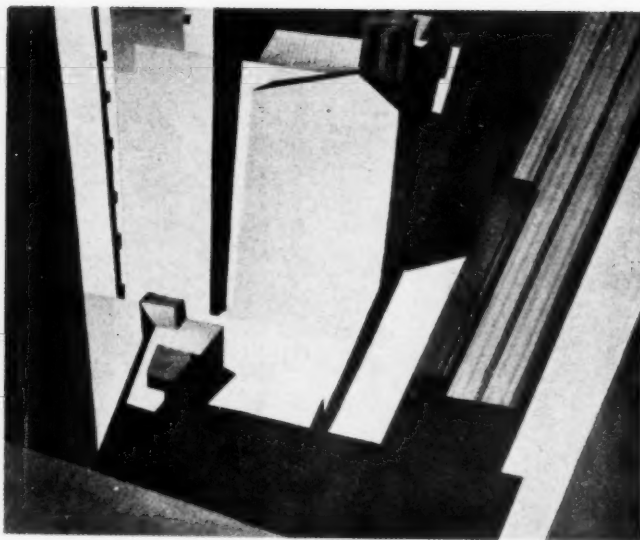


Fig. 5. Sheeler, Church Street "El", Chestnut Hill, Pa., Collection Earl Horter.

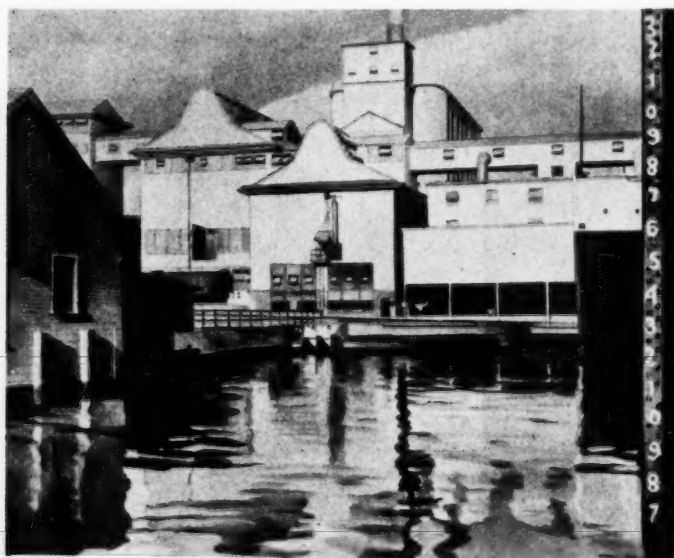


Fig. 6. Sheeler, River Rouge Plant, New York, Whitney Museum.

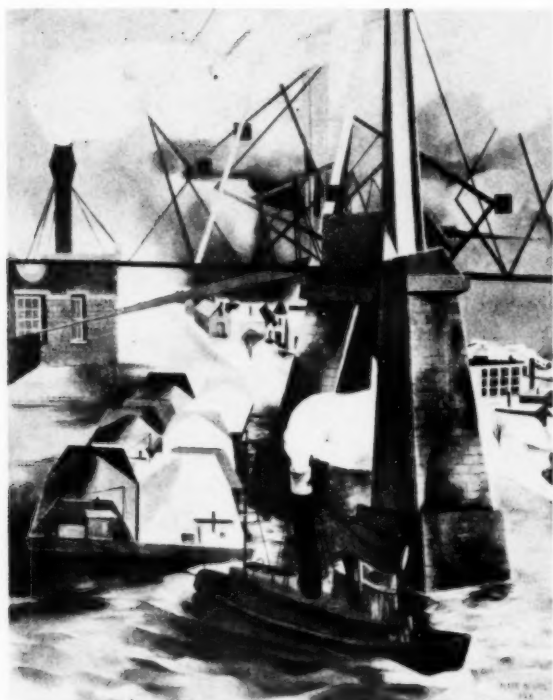


Fig. 7, Blume, *The Bridge*,
Collection Sidney Janowitz.

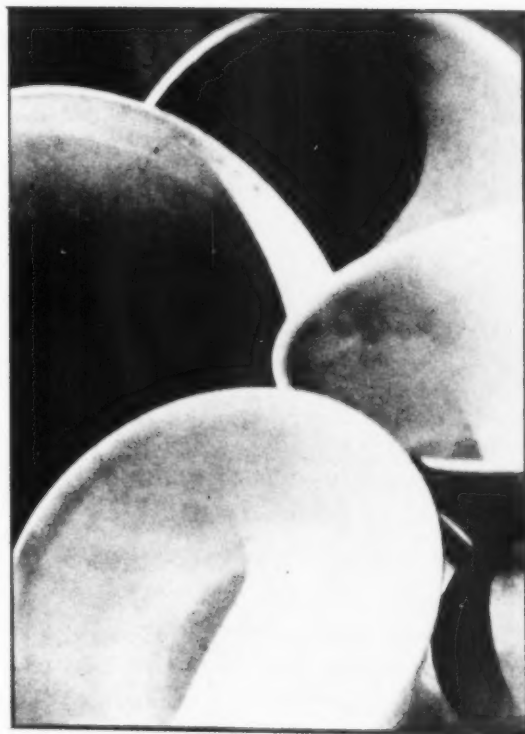


Fig. 8, Strand, *Circular Forms*,
photograph.

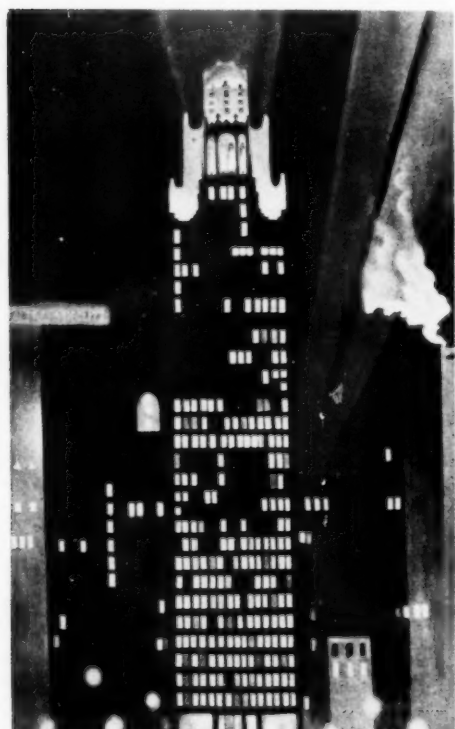


Fig. 9, O'Keeffe, *The American Radiator Building*, Collection
An American Place.



Fig. 10, Dickinson, *Landscape with Bridge*, New York, Daniel Collection.



THESES ACCEPTED JUNE 1942 - JUNE 1945
INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

DISSERTATIONS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

A Numismatic Approach to the Sculpture of Southern Italy and Sicily in the Classical Period. By Phyllis L. Williams.

This dissertation offers a new approach to the local sculpture of Southern Italy and Sicily in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. The scantiness of ancient literary references to Magna Graecia and Sicily and the resulting lack of specific information about works of art once visible in its cities and sanctuaries has constituted a seemingly insurmountable handicap to any adequate reconstruction or evaluation of the plastic style of this region. The present study utilizes the local coin types which, by virtue of their indisputable provenance and date, offer comparative material of unparalleled value. Among these coins are certain types which give the immediate impression of reproducing monumental sculpture rather than being purely numismatic designs created expressly for this purpose. By selecting from these coin types those which are iconographically unique, and by grouping about them statues and statuettes which are iconographically and stylistically identical, it is possible to prove that these statuesque-looking coin types are indeed reproductions of lost contemporary statues -- a fact long denied by numismatists -- and to add a large number of statues and statuettes to the known works of this region. These attributions range from originals of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. to Roman copies, and include a number of famous and much discussed bronzes such as the *Idolino*, the so-called *Ephebe* from Pompeii, the *Castelvetrano Youth*, and the youthful *Herakles* in Copenhagen.

Architectura Numismatica. Part II. Temples in Asia Minor. By Bluma L. Trell.

It was Professor Karl Lehmann's theory that we might learn much about ancient architecture by a methodical study of ancient coins. Dr. Donald F. Brown initiated this technique of methodical study in his dissertation, *The Temples of Rome*. [Donald F. Brown, *Architectura Numismatica. Part I. The Temples of Rome*, New York University, 1941, dissertation unpublished; cf. *idem*, *Temples of Rome as Coin Types*, (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 90) New York, 1940; *idem*, in *Narsyas*, II, 1942, p. 166.] The present investigation was undertaken in the first instance to test, by means of evidence other than numismatic, the faithfulness of the representations upon coins of the temples of Asia Minor, and to determine to what degree these representations might safely be used as aids in the reconstruction of ancient buildings. These coins, which had appeared to be no more than tiresome stylizations -- archeologists have long mistrusted and neglected them as to architectural detail -- proved, when studied methodically, to be reliable source material for the history of architecture.

Although "methodical study" is fundamental to the study of any evidence, it was necessary to define it in its application to numismatic evidence. The procedure adopted was as follows:

- I. To assemble and examine all known coins representing a particular building.
- II. To compare these coins with those representing other temples of the same region to determine the local numismatic tradition.
- III. To test these coins against all other available evidence: archeological, epigraphical and literary.

Approximately 1800 coins of the Roman province of Asia -- 250 separate coin-types, representing thirty-eight different buildings -- were subjected to this test. It was found that, within the limitations of the numismatic conventions of the region, the coins presented faithful pictures of actual temples. The test also established the local numismatic conventions and these, in turn, offered a code by which the coins could safely be used.

The value of using such evidence for reconstructions of individual buildings is obvious; the architectural data revealed by the test-investigations were presented for their own sake. The extent of that value can be seen, for example, in the study of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, where many details of the superstructure heretofore unknown were restored on the basis of the coins. [Bluma L. Trell, *The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos*, (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 107) New York, 1945.] Of equal interest is the light thrown by numismatic evidence upon other problems of the history of architecture: the origin of certain architectural forms; the style and identification of the great Greco-Roman neocorate temples dedicated to the worship of the Emperors.

Approximately 700 coins are reproduced in the plates, many of which have not been illustrated or described elsewhere. For each temple considered, there is a bibliography of all the pertinent archeological, epigraphical and literary material. Together with the numismatic evidence, this study will serve, it is hoped, as an illustrated guide for the future investigator.

The Illustrations to the Book of Judith in the Middle Ages. By Frances Gray Godwin.

No summary submitted.

THESES SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

The Sculptures of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna. By Phyllis Pray.

This thesis presents the first attempt at reintegration of the sculptural reliefs from the quadrifrons arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna, dating from 203-204 A. D. The author proposes a new analysis of the iconography of these reliefs, proving that they are a unified and coordinated cycle. The reliefs from the passageways supplement the friezes of the attic to form four integrated complexes, corresponding to the four faces of the arch. The whole expresses the glorification of the emperor, of his family, and, indirectly, of the city of his birth. Reference is made to Severus' benefactions to Leptis and to his recent victories in Parthia. The lat-

ter entails magnanimous commemoration of the African legion which served with him; one of the four sculptural complexes is dedicated to its affairs. A series of divinities, among whom the patron gods of Leptis take their place, completes the general scheme.

The reliefs are studied individually with reference to the iconographical traditions of Roman historical relief, as well as to stylistic developments in the contemporary art of Rome. The work of at least five sculptors is distinguished, each of whom is shown to follow current stylistic trends. The major stylistic conclusion is that it is necessary to revise previous opinion which suggested influence from eastern sources, in particular Parthian art, as explanation of the "late antique" character of these sculptures. Whatever there are of late classical elements are shown to have developed from iconographical and stylistic prototypes of West Roman art and to be the logical outgrowth of orthodox traditions of historical relief.

The Wall Paintings of the Synagogue at Dura-Europos. By Rachel Wischnitzer.

No summary submitted.

The Pictorial Representations of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, to 614 A. D. By Paula D. Sampson.

This study comprises a compilation of all the representations in art of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, from the fourth century to 614 A. D., with the examples divided into the following groups: 1) the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as a complex of buildings; 2) in the combined form of Church of the Anastasis and Tomb of Christ; 3) the church of the Anastasis only; and 4) the Tomb of Christ. By grouping the representations according to the structural picture of the original complex presented in them, the attempt has been made to define the proportionately varying extent of their value as archeological evidence. In conclusion it is noted that the several groups seem to coincide with differing media used for the representations.

The Six Dynasties Tomb Paintings of T'ung Kou. By Patricia Dimelow.*

This thesis attempts to define the art historical position of a major fresco cycle in Manchuria, which has recently been published adequately for the first time. After discussion of the historical context and the rare comparable monuments, the paintings are compared with Chinese developments in iconography, technique, space, form and movement. They follow Han traditions in subject matter, linear modelling, stage-like space and the arrangement of figures in registers to indicate depth. They show evolution toward Six Dynasties style in China in their miniaturism, triangular or conical composition, color modelling, perspective, landscape, and agitated linear movement.

Eleventh Century Churches in the Ile de France. By Phyllis A. Reinhardt.

This thesis examines the extant eleventh century churches of the Ile de France, corresponding to the major part of the archdioceses of Sens and Reims, in an effort to distinguish their

common style, to determine chronological and regional trends, and to relate this architecture to that of Romanesque France. It establishes a distinct architectural style as that of the Ile de France in the eleventh century. Within this general style three regional trends can be determined, namely, the Southwest, the North, and the East.

It is impossible to determine any exact chronological developments, but it is certain that a vigorous building activity occurred during the first third of the eleventh century. Its progressive character is evidenced by the number of architectural innovations which may have originated and were certainly adopted early in the Ile de France. Building abated considerably during the rest of the century, especially in the last third. Far from being merely retardataire the Ile de France developed a most progressive Early Romanesque style but completely lacked a High Romanesque style. Thus in the twelfth century the Ile de France provided fertile ground for the development of the Gothic style.

The catalogue of some fifty-six eleventh century churches in the dioceses of Chartres, Meaux, Orleans, Paris and Sens supplemented by the two excellent published monographs on those of Beauvais and Soissons by E. J. Waillez and Eugène Lefevre-Pontalis provides readily available information about the individual churches of the Ile de France of this period.

Santa Maria in Vescovio. By Sarah J. Loessel.

No summary submitted.

Elements of Shape as Evidence of Date in Florentine Painted Panels. By Edward B. Garrison Jr.

Historians inevitably use some form of statistical method in dating undated paintings, since they make lists, written or mental, of the occurrences of certain characteristics and impute similar dates to all works which evince similar characteristics. But due to the multifarious nature of the stylistic and iconographic data with which they chiefly deal, their method, as far as statistics are concerned, remains crude and only half realized. In painted wooden panels there are, however, characteristics which lend themselves to precise statistical treatment, since they are measurable and expressible in discrete numerical series. They have to do with panel shape, chief among them being *overall proportions* and, in gabled panels, *angles of gable*, characteristics which are as fundamentally expressive of a period's aesthetic as style or iconography.

In the late thirteenth century and in the fourteenth, Gothicism began to permeate Italy, realizing itself differently in different centers. Preliminary observation of actually dated panels revealed that in Florence, in contrast to other centers, such as Siena, it penetrated gradually and more or less regularly, so that there was an apparent progressive slenderizing of proportions and angles. The thesis, which covers the period 1300 to 1350, applies scientific statistical methods to determine whether this process took place in such a way that normal dates can be established for various proportions and angles. The statistical methods involved are ex-

plained in detail, the complicated statistical formulae given in support. Since the experiments straddled two widely separated techniques, there was a real problem of lucid explanation in terms not too technical, which had to be solved as best might.

A prime statistical theorem states that the characteristics of any data-sample may be imputed to the class of objects from which it is taken, under certain conditions and with certain reservations. In this case, the class of objects was composed of all the painted wooden panels produced in the period, the sample of the dated panels among them, and it was proposed to impute the dates of angles and proportions in the dated panels to similar angles and proportions in undated panels. The first statistical condition to be fulfilled was to ensure homogeneity in all the data, both in the dated and undated panels. This involved the elimination of all panels of older shapes which *could* not be modified in a Gothic sense. The data had also to be reliable, so that the second step was to eliminate all panels which no longer had their original proportions or gables. Finally, statistics state that the correctness of the imputation depends on the size of the sample — the larger the sample the more reliable the imputation. The dated panels from the period which met the requirements of homogeneity and reliability numbered only 21, and these should have formed the sample. It was obviously impossible to know the total number of panels produced in the period, but it was certain that this sample was extremely small in relation to it. In order to enlarge the sample, those panels about which there was a plurality agreement among authorities as to date were added to it. Although this brought it up to 55, it was still very small, but the degree of reliability could be calculated, and the conclusions were, in any case, more precise than those ever reached on any other art historical characteristic.

The results were negative with reference to proportions, positive with regard to gable angles. This was logically explainable by the fact that gable angles being a free aesthetic factor independent of all others in the making of a panel, all gabled panels were homogeneous to each other and when analyzed together yielded a clear and unified pattern of development. Proportions, on the other hand, depended to an appreciable extent on iconographic factors. Thus in order to ensure groups homogeneous with regard to proportions, it would have been necessary to separate panels according to what was painted on them, placing half-length figures in one group, full-length figures in another, etc. But the size of such subgroups became so small that conclusions based on them would have been valueless, so that proportions had to be abandoned as an index.

With reference to gables, the conclusion reached was that an angle may be dated within about thirteen years, with a 68% probability of being correct, a result not as satisfactory as desired but at least precise. It will be clearest to reproduce the table of normal years for the commonest angles met with, intermediate angles being readable on two-dimensional charts made.

Angles	Probable Dates	Angles	Probable Dates	Angles	Probable Dates
115	1308-19	85	1321-34	55	1335-48
110	1308-21	80	1323-36	50	1338-51
105	1311-24	75	1326-39	45	1340-53
100	1314-27	70	1328-41	40	1343-56
95	1316-29	65	1330-43	35	1345-58
90	1318-31	60	1333-46		

Finally, the paper applies these conclusions to the angles of the undated panels of the period, giving complete tables showing various attributed dates as well as the date evidenced by the angles. No nostrum for dating panels is arrived at, however, but only indications of normal dates for the characteristic studied, i. e. gable angles -- additional evidence in the broad problem of panel dating. The general art historical rule that a work must be dated by the latest feature in it is in no way disturbed, and it remains to determine in each case whether or not the gable is indeed the latest feature. The evidence may not, therefore, be rigidly used to discountenance contrary opinion, but, by the same token, contrary opinion may not be given more weight than its degree of reliability and precision warrants.

The Iconography of the Nativity in Florentine Painting of the Third Quarter of the Quattrocento. By Rosaline Schaff.*

After a general discussion of medieval ideas which condition Nativity representations, three early works of Fra Filippo Lippi are considered in detail. They are held to be remarkably original in composition, setting and richness of symbolism, and to dominate the work of the following generation. Chapters on the Madonna and the Child differentiate the many motives of the period. Appendices quote the major literary sources for the Nativity and list some 200 pictures.

The Iconography of Andrea Mantegna's Half-length Pictures of the Madonna and Child. By E. Maurice Bloch.

This study is a concentrated discussion of the four Madonnas by Mantegna in the Carrara Gallery, Bergamo; the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, Milan; the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; and the Brera Gallery, Milan. The thesis first endeavours to trace the master's sources and immediate influences. It is significantly indicated that Mantegna reverted to old Byzantine formulae in his Madonna compositions, and that the artist's direct source for the inspiration was Padua and Venice, where Byzantine tradition remained strong up to that time. Andrea's strongest immediate influence came from the inventive Jacopo Bellini, his father-in-law. From Donatello, in Padua during Andrea's maturing years, the painter learned more about nature and the antique. In the matter of the Madonna compositions, however, Donatello seems to have inspired him not at all, for the sculptor himself took over traditional Venetian types and motives after coming to Padua.

The second problem considered is the literary content of the pictures. It is revealed that these paintings are not simple genre works, but have at their basis a deeper symbolism taken from literary sources well known during the quattrocento and discoverable throughout Italy. In Venice such ideas became especially popular. The sleeping Child, deeply rooted in Venetian tradition from the fourteenth century on, was inherited by Mantegna. The importance of the preaching of S. Bernardino of Siena as a source for Andrea is strongly underlined in this connection.

Style, Manner, and Taste; a Contribution to the History of Art Criticism. By Marco Treves.

The object of this thesis is to trace the history of the three terms through the centuries and to furnish examples of the texts in which they occur.

Stilus, a Latin word denoting a writing implement (first recorded in the second century B. C.) has been used to denote styles of oratory and poetry since 400 A. D. In the modern languages — Provençal, Italian, French, English, and German — style has many abstract and many concrete meanings. In connection with the fine arts it has been used since the fourteenth century.

Manière, a French word recorded since the twelfth century, was introduced into Italian in the thirteenth. As a painter's term, it occurs for the first time in Cennini (ca. 1390). Already in Vasari (1550) it is sometimes contrasted with the imitation of nature, and by Dolce (1557) it appears in an unfavorable sense, whence the terms "mannerism" and "mannerist" (1662).

Gusto (taste) occurs applied metaphorically to poetry in Castiglione (1513) and to sculpture in Michelangelo (1545).

Notes on Gio. Pietro Bellori. By Kenneth Donahue.

This thesis is intended as a source book for students of Bellori and of the seventeenth century rather than as the statement of conclusions of a completed research. Primary emphasis has been placed on assembling in a single volume as much of the scattered source material about Bellori as possible. It is composed of three sections, the first of which is a compendium of the available facts concerning Bellori's life and non-antiquarian works, with some remarks on his method, his sources and the development of his artistic theory. The documentation of this section is of especial value. The next section is a translation and the most completely annotated edition to date of Bellori's basic theoretical discourse "L'Idea". All references are quoted at length both in the original and in translation. The discourse is supplemented by translations of those passages from Bellori's *Vite de' Pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* which most significantly expand his artistic theory. The section of appendices quotes at full length the basic sources of information about Bellori, including the biographical sketches by Mandosio (1692), Valesio (1730) and Mazzuchelli (1760), and a selection of letters by and about Bellori.

"Bernini in France"; a Critical Study based on Paul Preart de Chantelou's Journal du Voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France. By Eleanor Dodge Barton.*

This study is a reexamination of the vexed question of the failure of Bernini's French projects. Many reasons have been assigned for it, and these are here compiled and analyzed, but they have emphasized the incident as a moment in the history of French art rather than as a part of Bernini's career. In restoring these factors to a more just balance, the conclusion is reached that most of the points cited, rather than any one, have a bearing on the outcome, but that personal and historical factors of an adventitious sort played a greater part than fundamental artistic disagreement. This is evidenced by the influence of Bernini on later art, and especially by an analysis of his theoretical and stylistic attitudes, which are shown to be much closer to those of the French than has been assumed.

Gaspar Dughet and Eighteenth Century England. By Janet Byrne.

No summary submitted.

Lithographs Copied after Paintings in France from 1815 to 1840. By Elizabeth Newell.*

The catalogue of 246 lithographs, from the introduction of the technique into France in 1815 until it began to be supplanted by engraving in 1840, suggests an index to some aspects of contemporary taste. The text presents a brief survey of the international situation in lithography, and explanatory observations on the painters and lithographers involved. Nearly all the lithographs are from contemporary paintings. Girodet is the painter most often reproduced, partly because his style of chiaroscuro is suitable to the medium. His pupil Aubry Leconte is the leading lithographer.

Eugène Delacroix: a Study of his Subjects. by William Perry.*

This thesis presents a study of Delacroix's romanticism as revealed through the subjects of his paintings. These subjects are grouped and discussed according to the following major categories: literary subjects; Oriental and animal subjects; classical subjects and the murals; religious, historical, and miscellaneous subjects. In his treatments of this material Delacroix reveals a persistent preoccupation with the Saviour-Prometheus theme, expressing this through both Christian and pagan symbols. His sadism, expressed through paintings of fighting animals, is seen to consist in a sense of the impersonal cruelty of nature. The author concludes that Delacroix voiced unconscious beliefs not only of the romantic, in its more limited sense, but also of his whole century, in the gnosticism revealed through his subjects: the conflict between man's sentiment, will or intellect, and the purely animal side of his nature produces the necessity for the Saviour symbol. The assumption underlies the century's conception of the relation of capitalist to liberal, worker, or intellectual.

Andrew Jackson Downing: a Guide to American Architectural Taste. By Edythe Norton July.

Study of Andrew Jackson Downing involves an analysis of small house architecture of the nineteenth century, as he offers it in his books (*Landscape Gardening*, 1841; *Cottage Residences*,

1842; *Country Houses*, 1850). Although the bulk of the examples in his books consists of designs by Downing himself, many of them are by contemporaneous American architects. Analysis of Downing's work thus gives a picture of the small house popular in the America of the 1840's and 50's, with some sidelights on the English small house of the period. Besides Downing's three books, correspondence between him and his contemporary, Alexander J. Davis, provided valuable testimony.

Downing's architectural theories were advanced, and sound familiar to a student of modern architecture. His houses, however, followed in their style the existing trends of the era after the Greek revival. He fostered designs for small houses in the Gothic, Italian, and what he called the "Bracketted" styles; and his houses, though well planned, displayed many inconsistencies which were the result of "style".

Downing was not original; he obviously patterned both theory and practise on the work of certain English architects and writers, and was a disciple of the American Davis. Despite the fact that Downing's sources may be traced without difficulty, he served a purpose. He wrote exceedingly well, so that his books had wide appeal. His *Cottage Residences* was the first book of its kind to reach the American public in any quantity, and because he was so widely read, the theories which he propounded affected persons who might otherwise never have heard of them. It is very possible that this dissemination of advanced theory may have paved the way for modern functionalism in America. Secondly, the designs which he chose to offer the public in his books seized the imagination, and he is therefore undoubtedly responsible for the number of Gothic, Italian, and "Bracketted" houses throughout the country today.

The Churches of James Renwick, Jr. By Effingham P. Humphrey, Jr.*

This thesis traces the sources and development of the architecture of James Renwick, as a little known phenomenon of the nineteenth century Gothic revival in the United States. The study is confined to his churches, the major emphasis being on the influences from Italian and English Gothic which conditioned them, as well as their relation to the productions of contemporary architects such as Richardson. In defining Renwick's attitude — a particular archeological orientation which achieved a bookish synthesis and clever composites of continental cathedrals — use is made of those books on architecture to which he had access.

In the interests of future research, additional material is included in the appendices: complete descriptions of two of Renwick's churches, St. Patrick's, New York, and St. Anne's, Brooklyn; a list of the contents of an architectural scrapbook once belonging to him; a catalogue of known portions of his library; and a catalogue raisonnee of his works for both public and private commissions.

Richard Norris Hunt, Architect. By Mildred Brenner.

No summary submitted.

Architectural Beginnings of Industrial Long Island. By Anne Pracny Kirby.

This thesis deals with the hitherto neglected subject of utility architecture in America's fourth largest industrial center: Long Island. From Mibert, a French observer of the early nineteenth century, to Walter Gropius, Europeans have been the chief commentators on the unintentional aesthetic qualities of American factory architecture. More recently, natives have followed them, notably Sullivan, Mumford, Hitchcock, Wright and Coolidge.

The first part of the thesis described the rise of industrial Brooklyn from its beginnings as a Dutch settlement through its occupation by the British during the Revolution to its accelerated growth during the nineteenth century. Its factory architecture is described and illustrated from the grist mills of early seventeenth century Long Island to the iron framework Mason, Au and Magenheimer factory of 1890 built on the skyscraper principles of Jenney.

The second part of the thesis describes in detail the rise and development of the first factory village on Long Island: the Steinway Village now absorbed into Astoria, Long Island. Initiated by the Steinway Piano Company, a factory village was established complete with homes for the workers, schools, a church, a library, a private beach and utilities at an early date.

The conclusion emphasizes the value of further study of the industrial scene, in view of the social importance of American industry, the leading part played by industrial housing in social consciousness, and the usefulness of the buildings as sources for future architects.

James Ensor; an Iconographical Study. By Libby Tannenbaum.

The difficulties of modern iconography, which tends toward "private" rather than "public" speech, can be overcome only by close and informed study of the work of the separate artists. Ensor, as perhaps the first expressionist, is especially interesting in this connection. Yet in a 1939 monograph one critic still describes the distinguishing Ensor characteristic as "mystery"; and this in view of the artist's own asserted determination to speak "to the men of tomorrow"! This thesis then purposes to consider the art of Ensor as "speech," and to adduce as much of his background as may be necessary to understand its language.

The early life of the artist, who was born in Ostend in 1860, is given in a first chapter which pursues his teachers, fellow students, and own production during three years at the Brussels academy. His canvases on his return to Ostend in 1880 are characterized by a developed technical mastery and preoccupation with the representation of the human figure and the problems of figure composition. The work of the next two years is seen falling into two groups: quiet, intimate scenes of the bourgeois interior (a genre which goes back to Vermeer and de Hooch); and local fishermen and servant types (again a genre preceded in 17th century Netherlandish painting). The dramatic intensity which Ensor achieves in both groups by 1882 is discussed in the light of his future development.

In the next two chapters (Masks and Skeletons, 1883-1887; Masks and Skeletons, 1888-1892)

the major and characteristic work of the artist is studied. The masks are found to have their source in the Ostend carnival; the morbid character of the artist as it now crystallizes in his work is traced to roots in the peculiar relations of the Ensor family. The significance of Rops as a necessary precursor, and that of Edgar Allan Poe, whose tales Ensor illustrated, is discussed. His discovery of the work of Jacques Callot is here first noted and traced, and is found to have been of crucial importance in convincing him that the way in which he was going was not indeed so outrageous as it seemed to his contemporaries.

The fantastic and "mysterious" elements of the individual works now are found explicable in terms of the motivations and surroundings of the artist. His series of studies of children, of religious subjects, and of the carnival scenes are followed as meaningful sequences and in their relation to each other and his whole work. Significant examples from the wealth of ambitious canvases of this period are explicated, and the famous *Entry of Christ into Brussels* is described in its complex commentary on contemporary Belgian society, and seen as a forerunner of more recent panoramic social paintings like Tchelitchev's *Phenomena* and Peter Blume's *Eternal City*. The extraordinary variety of Ensor's techniques and presentation is seen as a result of a consistent effort to create the "aesthetic equivalent" of expressionism: "Each new work demands a new procedure."

A slackening of the amazing energy with which Ensor had created so many fascinating and magnificent works is noted after 1892. His paintings had not sold at all, his personal situation was dismal, and the result was a corrosive intensification of his morbidity and a corresponding aesthetic enervation. Several works of this period which reflect the artist's attitude towards human society are found to have in their subjects a close relation to the art of paranoiacs, and even his still-lives now present only objects emblematic of death.

With the turn of the century Ensor began to receive the recognition that culminated with his being created a baron by the Belgian king in 1930. A lifting of the pressure is noted, but there are few really important paintings from his later years. The work, of which there is a considerable quantity, shows tendencies toward the sardonic and the sentimental, both, however, understandable in the light of his experience.

Finally, Ensor is seen to have shaped the fantasies of northern Gothic and Callot into 20th century expressionism and surrealism, on which he had a large influence especially in Belgium and Germany. His anticipation of the later movements is found not only in what has been called the principle of the "aesthetic equivalent," the "objective correlative," etc., but also in his hatred for the brutalities and empty pretensions of modern society: "*Les suffisances matamoresques appellent la finale crevaision grenouillère.*"

Illustrations, a bibliography, and a brief chronology are appended.

Mechanistic Tendencies in Painting from 1901 to 1908. by Balcomb Greene.

No summary submitted.

*In the absence of the authors, the summaries marked with an asterisk have been prepared by and under the direction of the editors. They are less full than those which the writers of the theses have made.

